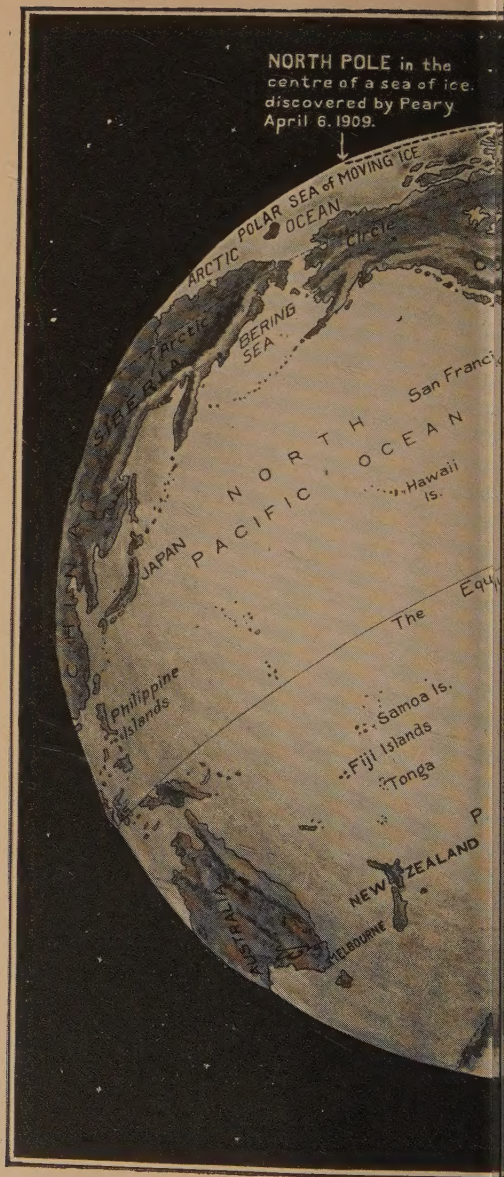

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NDSEN TO THE POLES

A GENERAL
HISTORY OF THE WORLD

By

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WITH A SUMMARY OF CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY

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CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

THE BALKAN STATES

(1848-1901)

Rumania, Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, Greece.—These were all carved out of the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. Montenegro indeed always asserted her independence, but was none the less reckoned a subject territory by the Sultan. Greece achieved national existence by the revolution which began in 1821 and lasted seven years. In 1848 the three other states were in different stages of subjection. Bulgaria was hardly more than a tradition. Her boundaries had been blotted out and her people utterly reduced when she was added to other Ottoman conquests in the fourteenth century. Servia was an autonomous province, with a native prince, but paying tribute and kept in check by Turkish garrisons. Rumania is the present name of what was then the two provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, including all the Turkish possessions north of the Danube. All five were adherents of the Eastern Orthodox, or Greek Church, but were of different races. The Rumanians were the mixed descendants of Dacians and Romans, the Greeks were Hellenic, and the Montenegrins, Servians, and Bulgarians were chiefly Slavs. Thus there were three ethnic layers, the northern or Latin, the central or Slavic, and the southern or Greek. Though partakers in the common distress, brought on by the civil and religious despotism under which they lived, they looked on one another with jealousy and aversion rather than with sympathy and kindly feeling.

Rumania.—Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1848, were both under the tyrannical rule of hospodars, appointed by the Sultan. The shock of the French Revolution

reached even the Black Sea. Both the provinces rose and drove out their governors. The Turks marched in from the south to put down the rebellion, whereupon the Russians entered from the east. War seemed inevitable between Turkey and Russia. It was averted by the convention of Balta Liman, which stipulated that in future the hospodars should be named for seven years by the Sultan and Tsar conjointly, and that the provinces, while vassals of the Sultan, should enjoy the protection of the Tsar. Tranquillity existed until the Crimean War, after which, by the Treaty of Paris, a collective guarantee of the great Powers was substituted for the Russian protectorate, and the provinces reverted to the control of the Sultan. A portion of Russian Bessarabia was annexed to Moldavia, so that the Russian frontier should nowhere touch the Danube.

Disappointed in their hopes of independence, Moldavia and Wallachia were clamorous for union into a single state. Their desire was encouraged by France and Russia, but opposed by Turkey, Great Britain, and Austria, which were unfavorable to any measure tending to increase the strength of the provinces. A plebiscite resulted in an almost unanimous declaration for union. After tedious negotiations, occupying several years, the great Powers agreed that one central committee should be empowered to enact common laws for the two, but that otherwise they should exist apart, each choosing its own provincial assembly and prince. But in 1859 the two elected the same candidate, Colonel Alexander Couza, whom they proclaimed "Alexander I, Prince of Rumania." The Sultan interposed every objection, but finally (1861) recognized him "for life," granting investiture, and receiving the same tribute as before. In 1862 the two provincial assemblies fused in one common national assembly, at Bucharest. Thus, in defiance of diplomacy, union was achieved.

The Rumanian nobles were so many petty despots, while the peasants possessed almost no civil rights. The wealth of the country was in the hands of numerous opulent monasteries. Couza abolished feudal privileges, proclaimed universal suffrage, and confiscated the prop-

erty of the monasteries to the advantage of the state. Thus the nobility and clergy became his deadly foes. The nobles, in return for an indemnity, were obliged to abandon a large part of their lands, which was divided among the peasants. But his beneficent measures were mixed with tyranny. He was forced to abdicate (February, 1866).

The Chambers chose Prince Philip, of Flanders, brother of the king of Belgium, as his successor. On his declination a plebiscite of the whole country elected Prince Charles of Hohenzollern (April 20). A European conference at Paris declared the election void, but Prince Charles was advised by Bismarck to ignore its decisions. Traversing Austria in disguise, he received an enthusiatic welcome at Bucharest (May 22). The Turks had watched the progress of events in Rumania with anxiety, but had always been dissuaded from action. The Powers had likewise confined themselves to formal expressions of dissatisfaction. This time Sultan Abd-ul Aziz determined on war. Omar Pasha massed a formidable army on the Danube. But the victory gained at Sadowa by Prussia, of whom Charles was the protégé, and the troubles in Crete, prevented interference. He was formally recognized as Prince of Rumania by both the Sultan and all Europe (October). His marriage with the Princess of Wied, in 1869, seemed to confirm his dynasty.

On the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, Rumania proclaimed herself independent (May 21, 1877). The development of her army had been carefully pursued by her new ruler, and she was able to offer Russia valuable aid. At the siege of Plevna, where Prince Charles was commander-in-chief of the Russian forces, her troops distinguished themselves for gallantry, and materially contributed to the capture of Osman Pasha and his entire command. In 1881 the representatives of the nation declared Rumania a kingdom, under Charles I as king. Disappointed of issue, his nephew, Prince Ferdinand, in 1888, was decreed his successor, with the title of Prince of Rumania. Though Queen Elizabeth had given her husband no heir, her pronounced

Rumanian sympathies and popular ways have materially strengthened his throne. Under her pseudonym of "Carmen Sylva," her stories and poems have added to the reputation of Rumania abroad. Save during one brief period of glorious war, the reign of Charles I has been devoted to the peaceful solution of internal questions and to internal progress.

The position of Rumania, midway between Russia and Austria-Hungary, upon the lower Danube, on the road to Constantinople, has given her a marked strategic importance. To Hungary she is a constant menace. More than 3,000,000 Rumanians are subjects of the Hungarian crown. To reunite them all under one flag is the ambition of "Rumania irredenta."

Montenegro.—In 1848 the name Montenegro, or Czarnagora, was applied to a territory of less than 1500 square miles, a mass of rocky and lofty mountains, west of Albania, inhabited by 107,000 human beings. The history of the country has been one long, ferocious heroism. Such of the Servians as would not submit had, after the fatal battle of Kossova (1389), taken refuge in its fastnesses, and there maintained an invincible resistance to the Turks. Their ruler, the vladika, or prince bishop, had the right of appointing his successor, whom he chose from among his nephews. He was aided in administration by a council of twelve persons chosen by himself. On the death in 1851 of Peter II, who had been an able warrior and statesman, his nephew, Danilo, became vladika. In the great charter of 1852 he divested himself of his episcopal functions, asserted his right to marry, and made the succession hereditary. Soon afterwards the Sultan sent Omar Pasha to attack him. Mirko, the elder brother of the prince, in a three months' campaign slew in battle 4500 Turks and captured 900 prisoners. Again attacked in 1858 by vastly superior forces, the Montenegrins gained the decisive battle of Grahova, where more than 3000 Turks were killed. Two years afterwards Danilo was assassinated. Leaving no son, his nephew, Nicholas I, succeeded. Another war with the Turks (1862) was no less honorable to the mountaineers.

Thus far every Montenegrin was an armed volunteer, little susceptible to military discipline and poorly armed. The fourth Turkish war in the space of the last fifty years began in 1876. Everywhere successful, though against desperate odds, the independence of Montenegro was acknowledged by the Sultan in 1878. In the preliminary treaty of San Stefano, Russia obtained such concessions for the heroic little country as would have trebled its territory and doubled its population. Though these gains were largely reduced by the Treaty of Berlin, it eventually acquired the port of Dulcigno on the Adriatic, with a seaboard of almost thirty miles.

Nicholas I is still on the throne. In 1910 he had himself declared king and the principality became a kingdom. During his reign of fifty years his country has made marked progress in civilization. Himself educated in Europe, he has rendered education compulsory, and carefully encouraged agriculture among his warlike people. The marriage of his daughter, Helena, to the Prince of Naples, afterwards King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, is supposed to insure Montenegro an ally against Austria-Hungary, which, far more than the Ottoman Empire, is the chief enemy of Montenegrin independence. Since the days of the Tsar Peter, a peculiar attachment has existed between Montenegro and Russia.

Servia.—The patriot swineherd, Kara George, gave to a part of Servia a political existence early in the present century. Defeated, he fled from the country, and the insurrection was headed for fifteen years by Milosch Obrenovitch. Worn out by the persistence of the insurgents, Sultan Mahmoud (1830) erected the revolted territory into an autonomous hereditary principality, and appointed Milosch its governor. Kara George returned, but Milosch succeeded in having him assassinated. Since then the feuds of the rival Karageorgevitch and Obrenovitch families have been the main factor in Servian history. Alternately members of the two houses expelled each other from power until 1859, when Alexander Karageorgevitch was a second time deposed and Michael Obrenovitch a second time placed in control. Michael was assassinated in 1868. Alexander in his ab-

sence was declared guilty by the criminal court of complicity in the crime.

None the less great progress had been made meanwhile in shaking off the Turkish yoke. During the Cretan troubles of 1867 the Sultan, to propitiate the Servians who threatened to join the Greeks, withdrew his garrison from the citadel of Belgrade. Michael had armed his people and imposed military service on all able-bodied men. He had also endeavored to introduce some civil reforms among his people, and had occasionally convoked the Skupchtina, or legislative body.

Milan, the successor of the murdered ruler, was only fourteen years of age. The regency of three persons, which ministered affairs during his minority, proceeded to promulgate a liberal constitution (1869). While confiding all ordinary power conjointly to the prince and a Skupchtina of 120 members, it provided for an extraordinary or great assembly of 480 members in cases of emergency. Prince Milan was declared of age in 1872. Though in consequence of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 the independence of Servia was acknowledged by the Sultan, and the state in 1882 proclaimed itself a kingdom, his reign was filled with disgrace and disaster. Nothing but the intervention of Russia saved Servia from destruction by the Turks in 1876. But the chief humiliation was received from the hands of the Bulgarians at Slivnitza (1885). This time Servia was delivered from the consequences of a shameful defeat by the intervention of Austria. The scandalous conduct of the king toward Queen Natalie, who was idolized by the common people, still further increased his unpopularity. Finally he obtained a divorce of questionable validity (1888), which was annulled by both parties in 1894.

The public debt had enormously increased in spite of excessive taxation. Radical measures to propitiate the masses, such as the granting (1888) of a still more democratic constitution than that of 1869, did not allay the universal discontent. The choice seemed to lie between abdication and deposition. Milan chose the former. He appointed a regency and proclaimed his son Alexan-

der, then a boy of twelve (1889). He himself died in 1901.

The young king showed courage and energy. Before he was seventeen years old he arrested, at his own table, the regents who were to govern during his minority. The next day he declared himself of age and took the reins of government. In the following year, by a coup d'état, he abolished the constitution of 1888 and restored that of 1869.

Servia has for more than thirty years been tormented by the ambition to act the rôle of a Slavic Piedmont. But she has presented no Servian Cavour, nor has she shown such qualities in war or peace as to indicate her fitness for leadership. A large portion of old Servia is still under the Sultan, or included in the former principality, now the kingdom of Bulgaria. Meanwhile the bitter contentions of the three parties, the radicals, the progressists, and the liberals, waste her energies and paralyze her progress.

Bulgaria.—The last fifty years have brought marvelous changes to Bulgaria. In 1848 there seemed no hope of political resurrection. Nowhere did the Turkish rule press more absolutely and cruelly, yet the diffusion of the Mussulmans all over the country, and its peculiar strategic features, rendered successful revolution unlikely, even if insurrection were attempted. Lost in a mass of nameless rayahs, many Bulgarians were ignorant of their own race and supposed themselves Greeks. Their ancient literature had been destroyed and schools had hardly begun to exist. Their church had been blotted out, and they were dependent upon the Greek patriarch at Constantinople.

But here and there the people were stirring. Bulgarian revolutionary committees began to be formed across the Danube, in the Rumanian towns of Bucharest and Yassy. The bishops in Bulgaria were almost exclusively Greeks. A determined effort was made to confer their sees upon Bulgarians. The Turkish government was entreated to recognize the Bulgarian Church. After contention lasting twenty years, this project, obstinately fought against by the Greeks, was

approved by the Porte (1870). A Bulgarian exarchate was created, but the exarch was required to reside at Constantinople. There had been no change of creed, but the Greek patriarch excommunicated all persons connected with the new religious organization.

Midhat Pasha governed the country for four years. Under his stern but enlightened rule roads were constructed, agriculture protected, and the general condition improved. But each amelioration only revealed to the Bulgarians how wretched was their lot.

At last came the awful massacres of 1876. It was the time of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian insurrection. The Mussulman government and people were suspicious of the slightest movement of the Christians. Petty outbreaks convinced the panic-stricken grand vizier, Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, that all Bulgaria was rising. He let loose the Circassians and Bashi Bazouks to plunder and slaughter without restraint. For three months there was a carnival of death in the vain attempt to exterminate a people. More than 20,000 persons were butchered. The consequence was the Russo-Turkish war, in which on many fields Bulgarians fought like heroes. The Treaty of San Stefano made Bulgaria a powerful state, stretching from the Danube to the Ægean. The Treaty of Berlin greatly reduced its size, and by an unnatural division cut it into parts: Bulgaria, north of the Balkans, and Eastern Rumelia on the south. The former, a vassal tributary state, was to elect its own prince, who should be confirmed by the Sultan with the assent of the Powers. The latter was to remain under the Sultan's direct control. He was to appoint over it a Christian governor for a term of five years, with the assent of the Powers.

A constitution was adopted at Tirnova by an assembly of notables (1879). It provided for a Sobranié, or legislative assembly, elected by popular vote. Sofia was made the capital. The election of a prince was entrusted to an extraordinary or Grand Sobranié, which is convened only on special occasions. It chose Prince Alexander, of Battenburg, then an officer in the Prussian army. He took the oath at Tirnova, on July 9, 1879,

and one week later the Russian army of occupation evacuated the country.

Thus Bulgaria had arisen from the tomb of centuries, and stood forth a state among the nations with a sovereign and constitution of her choice. Her people had no experience in the art of self-government, but their patience and practical common sense were to stand them in good stead. There was no proscription of Mussulmans in their midst, despite the vivid memory of recent atrocities.

The overbearing arrogance of the Russians made the Bulgarians forget their great services. Russians crowded the higher offices of civil and military administration and treated the Bulgarians with contempt. The Russian diplomatic agent, M. Hitrovo, acted like a master. The Liberals, antagonists of Russia, obtained a large majority in the Sobranié and their leader, M. Zankoff, became prime minister. Prince Alexander, by a coup d'état, suspended the constitution (1881) and made the Russian general, Ernroth, prime minister. Two years afterwards he restored it and called Zankoff to power.

By a sudden revolution in Eastern Rumelia (September 18, 1885) the governor, Gavril Pasha, was expelled, and the union of the two Bulgarias proclaimed. Great Britain approved the act. It was denounced by Russia, which recalled every Russian officer in the Bulgarian army. Servia looked with a jealous eye on the creation of the Bulgarian principality. Its union with Eastern Rumelia roused her to exasperation. Believing the moment opportune, while the troops of her rival were without superior officers, she declared war and crossed the frontier. The Bulgarians rose as one man. Alexander proved himself an able leader. The enemy was hurled back. Then followed the three days' battle of Slivnitza, the most glorious event in modern Bulgarian history. The Servian capital, Belgrade, was rescued from capture only by the intervention of Austria.

A miserable intrigue deposed and exiled the prince the following year. Recalled to the throne, he abdicated soon afterwards (September 7, 1886), through dread of the Tsar Alexander III, who was his personal enemy.

The Tsar sent General Kaulbars to win back the friendship of the Bulgarians. The unwise and brutal conduct of the envoy incensed the people, until at last he and all the Russian consular agents withdrew. Finally the Grand Sobranié elected Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the grandson of Louis Philippe. Russia was still hostile, so he could obtain recognition neither from the Sultan nor the Powers.

For more than seven years after the deposition of Prince Alexander, M. Stambouloff, first as president of the regency and then as prime minister, was the real ruler. The dominant idea of his policy was the independence of Bulgaria, not only from Turkey, but from the diplomatic interference of Europe, and specially of Russia. His rule was vigorous and despotic, often violent and unjust, but never wavering. His chief success was in securing from the Sultan the appointment of Bulgarian bishops in Macedonia. But he wore out all his early popularity and became intolerable to the prince. An angry letter of resignation, the acceptance of which he did not anticipate, was the means of his fall (May 31, 1894). A year later he was assassinated in the street. Dr. Stoïloff, a highly educated and patriotic statesman, a typical Bulgarian of the worthiest type, in 1894 became prime minister, holding that office until 1899.

The principality does not include all the Bulgarians. Many are found on the west and south under the rule of Servia or Turkey. In Macedonia the majority of the inhabitants are Bulgarians, and the ultimate fate of that province is disputed by Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece.

Greece.—It was the misfortune of Greece that, after her emancipation from Turkey had been recognized (1830), she was compelled to organize her entire administration in accordance with the exigencies of the great Powers, and with no regard to the wishes of her own people. Though desiring a republican form of government, she was forced to accept a monarchy, and Prince Otho, a Catholic and a Bavarian, was imposed as king (1833). For ten years he ruled as a foreign despot by

means of a Bavarian ministry and Bavarian army. There was no legislative assembly and no constitution. On September 15, 1843, a peaceful revolution extorted the promise of a constitution and of a national Chamber, and compelled the retirement of the Bavarian Cabinet and the appointment of Mavrocordatos, a Greek, as prime minister. The Powers did not interfere.

The constitutional assembly met in November. It elected as its president a revolutionary hero, Panoutsos Notaras, then 107 years old. On March 16, 1844, a liberal constitution received the royal signature. It provided for ministerial responsibility, a Senate named by the king, and a single Chamber of Deputies, or Boule, elected by universal suffrage.

The restoration of the Byzantine Empire has always been a Greek dream. When the Crimean War broke out, Greek enthusiasm believed the moment of realization near and prepared to attack the Sultan. In consequence a British and French fleet blockaded the Piræus. A sufficient force was sent on shore to overawe Athens. It occupied the country from May, 1854, to February, 1857.

King Otho and his haughty and childless queen, Amelia, had never been liked by the Greeks and grew daily more unpopular. While they were absent on a pleasure trip in the Ægean a general insurrection broke out, the throne was declared vacant, and a provisional government appointed (October, 1862). On their return the royal travelers were not allowed to come on shore and departed at once for Bavaria. Prince Wilhelm of Denmark was elected "King of the Hellenes," nominally by the national assembly, but really by the Powers (1863). If the Greeks were doomed to have a foreign king, no wiser choice could have been made. Great Britain marked her satisfaction by the cession to Greece of the Ionian Islands, which she had held ever since the Napoleonic wars. The marriage of the young sovereign and of the Grand Duchess Olga, niece of the Tsar Alexander II, indicated the good-will of Russia.

George I at once showed himself democratic in his manners and sympathies. The new constitution of 1864,

which received his full approval, was even more liberal than its predecessor of 1844. It abolished the senate and established entire freedom of the press. Parliamentary majorities have ever since determined the composition of the cabinet and the foreign policy. While nineteenth century Greece possessed several statesmen of ability, the two most prominent were MM. Tricoupis and Delyannis. During the seventeen years subsequent to 1881 they alternated with each other in the premiership, M. Tricoupis being prime minister four times and M. Delyannis three.

The relations of Greece and Turkey have given rise to the most delicate and involved complications. The unsatisfactory and unjust boundaries, assigned after the revolution, left the majority of the Greeks still rayahs of the Sultan. Their blood had been lavished without reward. The bond between these rayahs and their emancipated kinsmen has even grown stronger with time. Every disturbance on the mainland or in the islands has caused a sympathetic outburst among the free Greeks. But European diplomacy has been harder to deal with and more dreaded than the military strength of the Turks.

During the Cretan insurrection of 1866-1868 the Greeks welcomed and cared for more than 50,000 Cretan refugees, and were only prevented by the interference of France and Great Britain from themselves taking up arms in behalf of their brethren. A similar pressure kept them quiet during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, their army crossing the frontier only after the preliminary treaty of San Stefano had been signed. France, at the Congress of Berlin, urged the claim of Greece to rectify her frontiers, and the signatory Powers proposed the assignment to her of all Thessaly and the southern half of Epirus. Turkey skillfully evaded compliance, ceding only a fragment of Epirus and southern Thessaly (1881).

The fifteen following years were in the main peaceful despite the heat of party politics. But ineffectual armaments against Turkey had been costly, and public works, such as the construction of railways and canals, destined

to ultimately increase the wealth of the country, had drained its resources and exhausted its credit. Still commerce and agriculture advanced. Whatever change occurred in the general condition was for the better.

Then began the saddest chapter in the story of modern Greece. In Crete the fight for liberty had again burst forth with fury. The again-repeated and familiar promises of reform were laughed at by the insurgents. On February 8, 1897, when almost the whole island was in their possession, they proclaimed its union to Greece. The news came upon the Athenians like a spark upon gunpowder. The king dispatched Prince George with a torpedo flotilla to Crete (February 10) and Colonel Vassos with 1500 men (February 14). The Powers protested and occupied Canea, the Cretan capital. Their fleet bombarded the Greeks and Cretans whenever they came in range. In a joint note (March 2) they declared that " in present circumstances " Crete could not be annexed to Greece, but that it should be endowed " with an absolute autonomy " under the suzerainty of the Sultan. This declaration was satisfactory to neither Turk, Greek, nor Cretan. More than 40,000 Cretan refugees had fled to the Piræus and excited compassion.

The Greek and Turkish troops approached the Thessalian frontier. Provoked by incursions, Turkey declared war April 17. The vastly superior number of her troops, their splendid discipline, and the generalship of their commander, Edhem Pasha, decided the result in a three weeks' campaign. The Crown Prince Constantine, the commander of the Greeks, showed little courage or capacity. His small army, supplied only with enthusiasm, was as badly equipped as it was poorly led. The prime minister, M. Delyannis, resigned. His successor, M. Ralli, sued for peace (May 8). The conditions of the treaty were terrible for the vanquished. Greece was to withdraw her troops from Crete, to pay a war indemnity of $20,000,000, and to submit her finances to international control. Her frontier was also to be rectified to Turkish advantage. It was understood that Crete was to enjoy an autonomous government " with reforms."

Thus Greece had staked her existence and been temporarily crushed. In 1854 or 1867 or 1878, or even in 1881, other conditions were more favorable, and she might have succeeded, but in 1897 she was hampered in every way, and the Ottomans given not only a free hand, but moral support by the concert of Europe. Rumania, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Servia, who might also have risen against Turkey, were strictly enjoined to remain neutral, and the two latter states were rendered responsible to prevent outbreak in Macedonia.

Yet it must be remembered that the course of the Powers was determined, partly, indeed, by hostility to Greek ambition, but above all by a common dread of a general European war. No conflagration spreads so fast as successful rebellion. Crete and Greece were sacrificed on the altar of an ignoble peace.

None the less the deliverance was approaching. A Mussulman outbreak at Candia in Crete (September 6, 1898), wherein forty-two British soldiers were wounded and twelve killed, brought about larger results than had done the sacrifices of Greece and the heroism of the Cretans. Germany and Austria-Hungary had already retired from the European concert, but Great Britain, Italy, France, and Russia now demanded of the Sultan that all the Turkish forces should be withdrawn, that autonomy should be granted to the island, and that Prince George, the second son of the king of Greece, should be appointed High Commissioner. The Sultan yielded to the ultimatum.

THE SMALLER EUROPEAN STATES UP TO 1900 (1848-1901)

Denmark.—Frederick VII ascended the throne on January 20, 1848. Soon after his accession he granted an autocratic constitution. The Rigsdag, or Assembly, consisting of an upper and a lower Chamber, was to meet annually, and could not be prorogued till after it

had sat two months. The upper Chamber, of sixty-six members, was appointed partly by the sovereign and partly by restricted ballot. The 102 members of the lower Chamber were elected by general suffrage, each voter to be thirty years of age and of reputable character. The desire for uniformity led the king to apply the same constitution to Iceland, where the ancient Althing, or General Diet, after existing 870 years, had been abolished in 1800. The Icelanders fretted at the new system, refused to be made a mere royal province, and stoutly insisted on maintaining their traditional local laws. After long discussion, most of the demands of the Icelanders were grudgingly granted in 1874.

With Frederick VII, who died in 1863, the Danish dynasty became extinct. Christian IX, of the house of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, became king. Like his predecessor, he was confronted on his accession by a war over Schleswig and Holstein, which were conquered and held by the allied Prussians and Austrians, The internal history of modern Denmark has been filled by the struggles of the conservatives and liberals. The former, supported by the privileged classes, are absolutist in tendency and care little for parliamentary government. The liberals, representing the vast majority of the people, wish to make their rights a fact, and, undoubtedly the people have now practically entered upon their triumph. Its weakness has prevented Denmark from exercising political influence abroad. But the children of no other European sovereign have already occupied or expect to occupy so many thrones. He soon became known as the "Father-in-law of Europe." Frederick, the prince royal, succeeded to the throne upon the death of his father in January, 1906. Prince Wilhelm, under the title of George I, is king of Greece. Princess Alexandra was England's queen as consort of Edward VII. Princess Marie Dagmar, as the wife of Alexander III, was Tsaritsa of Russia, and is the mother of the present Tsar Nicholas II. Frederick passed away on May 14, 1912, and his eldest son, now reigns as Christian X.

Sweden and Norway.—These two states, violently thrust together in 1814 after the overthrow of Napoleon, began their separate existence under one crown, each with its own constitution, ministry, and two Chambers. For foreign affairs, however, there was but one minister, who was usually a Swede. The king resided at Stockholm, which outranked Christiania much as Sweden outranked Norway. In fact, the independence of Norway was nominal rather than real. This position of inferiority rankled in the less populous country, and furnished the most prominent plank in the platform of the Norwegian radical party. In both countries the system of election was by restricted suffrage.

Oscar I, the son of Charles XIV, better known as Marshal Bernadotte of France, acceded in 1844 and reigned fifteen years. His son, Charles XV, reigned from 1859 to 1872, when he was succeeded by Oscar II, distinguished as a man of learning and an accomplished orator in many languages. During the last half century the two countries took small part in European politics. In 1855 they joined the alliance against Russia, the hereditary enemy of Sweden. Instead of subsiding, the anti-Swedish feeling in Norway and partiality for Denmark grew stronger with the years until the formal separation in 1905. Nothing but the tact of Oscar II prevented war between the Norwegians and Swedes.

Switzerland.—Despite diminutive size and small population, Switzerland, in political ideas and institutions, resembles the United States more than does any other European country. Its people have had long experience in self-government. Their freedom has been gained by their own heroic efforts and not bestowed by foreigners. Their area, small as it is, has reached its present extent by successive admissions or by annexations of adjacent territory.

The fact that the people are of three nationalities and languages, and that these three are geographically separate, French in the southwest and west, Italian in the south, and German in the rest of the country, is an obstacle to effective union. A further obstacle is found in the second fact of their nearly equal division between

Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, fifty-nine per cent being adherents of the former communion and forty per cent of the latter. These two religions are also drawn up on geographical lines, the central, or most ancient, and the southern cantons being Catholic, while the western, northern, and eastern cantons are Protestant. To these two facts are due most of their domestic troubles and civil wars. Since 1848 there has been no political disturbance of any importance, except a royalist attempt in Neuchâtel to overturn the government, and petty riots in the Italian canton of Ticino.

But until 1848, though there was a Switzerland, there was no Swiss nation. An individual's rights were cantonal and not national. Men were citizens of Berne or Zurich or Uri or some other canton, but not of a common country. The salvation of the state and the assurance of its permanence came with the overthrow of the Sonderbund or Separate League of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Lucerne, Freiburg, and Valais in 1847.

The radical, or national, party had triumphed. They bestowed upon Switzerland the most precious gift in its history, the Constitution of 1848. The men who framed it studied carefully the Constitution of the United States. In view of the difficulties with which they had to deal, there was no other political document which could be of aid. In fact, the fundamental proposition of the Swiss Constitution is a paraphrase of Article X in the Amendments to the American Constitution. The political life of the nation has since been summed up in the application and extension of its organic charter. The Federal Assembly, exercising legislative functions, has taken the place of the ancient powerless Diet. The executive power is centered in a Federal Council of seven members, elected by the Federal Assembly for three years. This Federal Assembly is modeled after the American Congress. It consists of a State Council, wherein two deputies from each canton represent cantonal sovereignty, and of a National Council of one deputy for every 20,000 inhabitants, representing popular sovereignty. The Swiss president has a minimum

of authority, holds office for only one year, and cannot be reëlected.

This constitution has been several times revised, always with a tendency to give more direct participation in affairs to the people. The most important modification is in the extension of the referendum, whereby the impulse to lawmaking is from below rather than from above, and where the decision as well as the initiative rests in the hands of the voters.

If efficient laws, industry, and material prosperity assure the welfare of a people, it is easy to credit the boast of the Swiss that they are the best governed and the happiest nation in the world.

Belgium.—The successful revolution of 1830 against Holland secured Belgian independence. By the Treaty of London (November 15, 1831) Austria, France, Great Britain, and Russia guaranteed the neutrality of the new state. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha had been already elected king of the Belgians by the National Assembly, and had ascended the throne as Leopold I. But the sovereign of Holland did not recognize accomplished facts until 1839. The constitution of 1831 declared Belgium "a constitutional, representative, and hereditary monarchy." Leopold II succeeded on the death of his father (December 10, 1865).

The foreign history of the country has been confined to apprehension that its integrity might be violated by France or Germany, and, later, the development of Belgian interests in the Congo region of Central Africa. On the separation of Holland and Belgium, the grand duchy of Luxemburg had been divided. One-third of the territory, the inhabitants of which were mostly Germans, continued to be the grand duchy and was united to Holland by a personal union, the sovereign of that country being acknowledged as the grand duke. It continued, however, to make part of the German confederation. The remaining two-thirds, inhabited by a French-speaking people, were assigned to Belgium. When Louis Napoleon became emperor, the Belgians feared that he would secure the cession of this territory, and perhaps the annexation of their entire kingdom to

France. But it was in reference to the grand duchy of Luxemburg that Napoleon carried on his calamitous negotiations with Bismarck after the Prusso-Austrian campaign of 1866. The proposal of Count Beust that the grand duchy should be annexed to Belgium, which, in turn, should cede certain territory on the south to France, was indignantly rejected by Leopold II. The conference of London (1867) decided on the neutrality of the duchy and on the withdrawal of the Prussian garrison which held its capital. The French diplomatists assert that Bismarck had previously proposed the incorporation of all Belgium with France. Though Belgium was strictly neutral in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871, she and Holland were both alarmed at the possible rapacity of the conquerors. But there was no interference with either.

By an international conference in 1885, Leopold II was made sovereign of the Congo Free State, which comprises an area of more than 900,000 square miles and more than 30,000,000 inhabitants. On August 2, 1889, by a formal will, he bequeathed to Belgium all his sovereign rights over it. By convention the right of Belgium to annex the state at any time after the year 1900 was recognized.

Belgium is the most densely populated and, in proportion to its size, the wealthiest country in Europe. Nowhere are political parties more sharply defined and political contests more fierce. For seventy years there has been presented the spectacle of a determined and never intermittent wrestle between the nearly equal forces of the "Catholics" and Liberals. The latter are strongest in the great industrial centers and the former in the other parts of the kingdom. By a peculiar compromise, or double victory, in 1893 the principal tenets of both parties were engrafted on the revised constitution. The Liberals secured the suffrage for every citizen twenty-five years of age. Hitherto less than 140,000 persons had been qualified to vote. The Catholics, unwilling to accept the principle of absolute political equality, secured the right of casting two or even three votes to whoever possessed certain educational or property

qualifications. Before 1893 in a population of over 6,000,000 less than 140,000 persons were allowed the vote. In consequence of the constitutional revision 1,350,000 electors were authorized to cast 2,066,000 votes. In the elections of 1894 the new system resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Catholics.

Holland or the Netherlands.—William II died in 1849. William III reigned until 1890. His two sons, William and Alexander, passed away some time before his death. In 1879, when sixty-two years old, he married, as his second wife, the Princess Emma of Waldeck and Pyrmont, who was only twenty. Their daughter, Wilhelmina, succeeded at the age of ten, her mother taking the oath as regent. On August 31, 1898, this last descendant of William the Silent, on the completion of her eighteenth year, became sovereign in reality as well as in name. The formal coronation took place a week later. On February 5, 1901, she was married to her distant kinsman, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who thus became Prince of the Netherlands.

The constitution, granted the Netherlands in 1815, was revised in 1848 and 1887. The people, not being discontented with their government, were only slightly affected by the European commotions of 1848. In 1896 an Electoral Reform Act conferred the right to vote on all Dutchmen twenty-five years old. Legislative functions were vested conjointly in the sovereign and a Parliament consisting of an upper, or first, and lower, or second, Chambers. Party divisions in Holland have been mainly religious, and the burning question for years has been as to the introduction of religion in the schools. The Catholics, who constitute a little over a third of the population, have been inclined to unite with the conservatives, or orthodox Protestants, against the liberals, who oppose religious instruction in state institutions.

Holland still retains extensive colonial possessions, especially in the Pacific, with an area of 783,000 square miles and a population of 35,000,000. An insurrection of the people of Atjeh in Sumatra, which went on in intermittent fashion for twenty-five years, was a heavy

tax upon her resources. In 1862 she abolished slavery in the Dutch West Indies. Her East Indian possessions are in a far less satisfactory condition.

The Six Smaller Nations and the Balkan States.—These six smaller states—Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland—are superior in population and territory, as well as in civilization and material prosperity, to the five Balkan states—Rumania, Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece. But during the last fifty years all of them, except Denmark, have mercifully been spared the experience of war. They have given rise to few problems of international importance. They have been permitted with little or no interference from outside to work out their individual destiny.

The Balkan states, on the other hand, although inhabited by peoples still more ancient, are only just born into political life. They have been of late the occasion and the theater of many destructive wars. Their nearness to Constantinople makes them still the battleground of European diplomacy. The uncertainties and complications of their future render them to-day of more vital interest than any other territory of equal extent within the limits of the continent.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Spain. Reign of Isabella II (1833-1868).—Ferdinand VII died in 1833, leaving two daughters, Isabella and Maria Louisa. Isabella, the elder, a child of three, became queen, and her mother, Christina, was appointed regent. The Carlist war distracted the country for seven years, until 1840. That same year Marshal Espartero, Duke of Victory, seized the power, forced Christina into exile, and, a military dictator, installed himself as regent. A coalition, headed by his bitter enemy, General Narvaez, afterwards Duke of Valencia, drove him from the country. The queen was declared of age (1843). Espartero had been devoted to the British. Narvaez was no less so to the French party, which now

became dominant. Louis Philippe secured the hand of Maria Louisa for his son, the Duke of Montpensier, and brought about the marriage of Queen Isabella to her cousin, Francis d'Assisi, who was equally diseased in mind and body (1846). By this arrangement, if Isabella died childless, the throne would revert to her sister and to the son of Louis Philippe. No woman was ever more cruelly sacrificed than this young queen, married on her sixteenth birthday. Whatever the later follies and even crimes of Isabella II, they were largely due to the heartless craft of a cold-blooded king.

The revolutionary tidal wave of 1848 crossed the Pyrenees. But isolated republican movements were quickly repressed. The camarilla, or clique of royal favorites, crowded Narvaez from office (1851). In March of that year the government signed a concordat with the Pope, prohibiting the exercise of any religion other than the Roman Catholic, placing all education under the control of the clergy, and submitting all publications to their censorship. The government further proposed such amendments to the inoperative constitution as would formally deprive the Cortes of its prerogatives and render the sovereign absolute. These amendments were superfluous, but even any semblance of liberty was to be effaced. The army and the workmen of the large cities combined in successful revolution (July, 1854). For two years Espartero and Marshal O'Donnell, minister of war, directed affairs and followed a more liberal policy. Then came two years of clerical reaction. O'Donnell had founded the Liberal Union, recruited among the advocates of mild reform or opponents of absolute despotism. It carried him into power (1858) and sustained him as prime minister until 1863. He sought to divert attention from domestic troubles to foreign affairs. He invaded Morocco (1860), joined Napoleon and Great Britain in the Mexican expedition (1861), attempted the overthrow of the Dominican Republic (1861-1865), and began a senseless war against Peru (1863-1866). Most of these enterprises ended in utter failure, unaccompanied by glory and enormously increasing the national debt.

O'Donnell was replaced by Narvaez. The queen surrendered herself entirely to priests and favorites. The darkest days of absolutism and bigotry returned. Spanish Protestants were condemned to the galleys for no other crime than their faith. All newspaper articles were to be submitted to the censor before publication. The Cortes passed a law that any person on suspicion could be arrested and imprisoned. Meanwhile, discontent and indignation were seething all over Spain. Packing the prisons to overflowing could not drown the general complaint. Yet none were so blind and deaf as the queen and her counselors. Narvaez was able to terrify the opposition, dissolve the Cortes, and expel Marshal Serrano, the president of the Senate. Narvaez was merciless and strong, but he died (April 23, 1868) and his successor, Gonzales Bravo, though merciless, was weak.

The Revolution (1868).—The three persecuted parties the progressists, unionists, and democrats, coalesced. The Marshals Serrano and Prim issued a pronunciamento against an intolerable government. Then came the crash in one mad, universal upheaval. Hardly an arm was raised in behalf of the queen, who fled to France (September 30, 1868).

Political Experiments (1868-1875).—During the succeeding eight years there were few political experiences which the unhappy country did not endure. During the trial of each experiment its opponents did their utmost, by noisy demonstration or secret plot, to make it a failure. At first the dual dictators, Marshal Serrano and Marshal Prim, were, the one, president of the council and commander of the army, and the other, minister of war. The Cortes met (February 12, 1869) and proclaimed a constitution, the supposed panacea for every evil (June 5). A less number of deputies were opposed to a liberal monarchy than to any other system, so the constitution was drawn up in that sense.

Marshal Serrano was made regent (June 16, 1869) and devoted himself to finding a king. Among other princes who declined the proffered crown was Leopold, a Hohenzollern prince, whose supposed candidacy fur-

nished the occasion of the Franco-Prussian war. Prince Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, son of Victor Emmanuel, gave a favorable answer. He was elected by a majority of the Cortes (November 15, 1870). The very day he landed at Barcelona (December 28) Marshal Prim, the minister of war, was murdered at Madrid. The assassins lodged eight bullets in his body. Amadeo was crowned and remained in Spain for two years. He did his best to rule well, but the clergy, the nobles, and the republicans opposed him at every step and offered him all possible insult. The Carlist war broke out again with fresh fury, under another Don Carlos, grandson of the old pretender (1872). Disheartened and disgusted, Amadeo abdicated (February 11, 1873). The next day the Cortes declared the republic. Months of wrangling among the republican factions resulted in the proclamation of Señor Castelar as president with dictatorial powers. He had been professor of philosophy at the University of Madrid. He was an orator, a patriot, and a statesman, but he could not rule Spain. He resigned (January 2, 1874). At once General Pavia, at the head of the army, expelled the Cortes and made Marshal Serrano military dictator. Marshal Campos proclaimed the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in the person of Alphonso, the son of the deposed queen (December 29, 1874). This measure was supported by the general sentiment. Marshal Serrano made no opposition and Alphonso XII returned from England, where he had been a student in the Royal Military Academy, and ascended the throne.

Reign of Alphonso XII (1875-1885).—The present constitution was proclaimed on June 30, 1876. The political liberties it secures were large in appearance. But ambiguous or qualifying phrases made it a liberal constitution hardly more than in name, and placed the reality of power in the hands of the sovereign, the executive. Legislative functions are exercised by the Cortes, which consists of a Senate and Congress of equal authority. The Senate is composed of senators "in their own right,"—members of the royal family, grandees enjoying an annual income of over $12,000,

captain-generals, admirals, archbishops, and presidents of the supreme councils and courts—of senators named for life by the sovereign and of 180 senators elected by privileged bodies. The entire number at no time can exceed 360. The Congress of 431 deputies is elected by universal suffrage. By the law of June 26, 1890, all male Spaniards twenty-five years of age, except certain disqualified persons, are allowed to vote. The Cortes meets annually, and may at any time be suspended or dissolved. In the latter case a new Cortes must sit within three months. The constitution declares Roman Catholicism the religion of the state, but no person can be molested for his private opinions or for the exercise of his own faith. At the same time no publicity of celebration or announcement, such as a notice upon the walls, is allowed to other communions.

The Carlist war was entirely suppressed. Estella, the headquarters of the insurrection, surrendered (February 19, 1876) and Don Carlos fled to France. The Carlist party, none the less, exists to this day. The partisans of Don Carlos were recruited among the mountains of the Basque and Navarrese provinces, which still retained their fueros, or special privileges, such as exemption from imposts and from military service. These fueros, which few preceding governments had dared to touch, were formally abolished by vote of the Cortes (July 21). Another civil war was necessary to carry the vote into effect.

The disorder elsewhere began to diminish. The Carlists for a time were harmless. The republicans broke up into cliques or, under the lead of Castelar, rallied to the support of the throne. Two monarchist parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, emerged from the political chaos. The former was led by Canovas del Castillo and the latter by Sagasta. One or the other of these two statesmen was at the head of Spanish affairs from 1874 to the beginning of the century, seven times succeeding each other as prime minister.

Reign of Alphonso XIII. Regency of Queen Christina.—Alphonso XII died in his twenty-eighth year (November 25, 1885). His daughter, Maria de las Mercedes,

would have succeeded had not the birth of a posthumous brother, Alphonso XIII (May 17, 1886), deprived her of the crown. The queen dowager, Christina, an archduchess of Austria, had been declared regent. A devoted wife, her whole life after the death of her husband was consecrated to her son. That the young prince now sits upon the throne is due to his mother's sagacity and devotion. Nor is it strange if, in the effort to make him king, dynastic interests sometimes outweighed the interests of Spain.

The queen confided the direction of affairs to Señor Sagasta, and indicated her preference for a liberal policy. The financial situation gave most concern. There was an ever-growing deficit, but any attempt at retrenchment always provoked fierce opposition. The Socialists and anarchists redoubled their activity. At Xeres the latter tried to seize the town, and at Madrid to blow up the palace of the Cortes. The troubles at Barcelona could only be put down by martial law (1892). Meanwhile, the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America was celebrated with enthusiasm all over the country, but riots at Madrid ended the festivals. An insult from the Moors suddenly engrossed attention. Morocco escaped war only by agreeing to pay an indemnity of 20,000,000 pesetas. Though smuggling was openly carried on, proposals to lower the tariff brought the country to the brink of revolution. Officers attacked the Liberal newspapers and destroyed the presses. Catalonia rose in revolt. The republicans demanded the deposition of the dynasty. At the end of his resources, Sagasta resigned. Canovas formed a cabinet (March 22, 1895).

Cuba.—The chronic insurrection in Cuba had assumed alarming proportions. In the mind of the new prime minister, the Cuban question dwarfed all other problems with which he had to deal. He demanded unlimited credit. The army of General Gallega, commander of the Spanish troops in the island, though often reënforced, had been horribly decimated by yellow fever. Marshal Campos, considered the ablest soldier in Spain,

was appointed to lead a new expedition. He sailed on April 2, 1895.

During the next two years and a half, though riots, rebellions, and hideous anarchist outrages went on in Spain and the state of the finances grew constantly more appalling, Cuba filled the political horizon. Insurrection in the Philippines only diverted partial attention to the East. Had Cuba been, like Crete, an island in the Mediterranean Sea, Spain would have felt less concern. Its nearness to the United States rather than apprehension of the insurgents was the ground of her anxiety.

The hopes entertained of Marshal Campos were not realized. He was replaced (January 17, 1896) by Lieutenant-General Weyler, whose former cruelties in Cuba and Catalonia had given him a sinister reputation. This appointment roused outspoken indignation in the United States. Spain, however, regarded all expressions of American sympathy for the inhabitants of the island as insincere and prompted by selfish motives. While dreading intervention she took no efficient measures to remove the abuses on which intervention might be based. Nor was she likely to give a colony a much better administration than her own people enjoyed at home. The ministry, however, announced certain unsatisfactory reforms (February 6, 1897), of which the most prominent was the grant of a kind of autonomy to Cuba; but these reforms were to be applied only after the island was tranquil. The prime minister, Señor Canovas, was assassinated in broad daylight by an anarchist (August 8, 1897), and his lifelong rival, Señor Sagasta, took office. General Weyler's policy of terrorism had proved even less effective than Marshal Campos' policy of pacification. Even the Spaniards denounced him. Formal communications from the American government (September 19 and October 5) increased the gravity of the situation. General Weyler was recalled and General Blanco appointed in his stead (October 9). A radical change in policy, with full autonomy for Cuba, was attempted. It was too late. Events had marched beyond the control of statesmanship or diplomacy. An indiscreet letter of the Spanish minister at Washington,

Señor de Lome, caused his resignation (February 8, 1898). The American battleship *Maine* was blown up in the harbor of Havana (February 15) with the loss of 250 seamen and two officers. Common opinion attributed the catastrophe to the Spanish officials. In the United States the growing sentiment in favor of intervention could no longer be repressed.

Pope Leo XIII offered to mediate between the Cuban insurgents and the mother country (April 4). The six European Powers presented a joint note to President McKinley in the interests of peace (April 7). On April 20 President McKinley signed a resolution of Congress recognizing the independence of Cuba. The same day he sent an ultimatum to Spain, but before it could be delivered the Spanish government notified the American minister, General Woodford, that diplomatic relations with the United States were at an end. War had begun.

After an unbroken series of defeats, M. Cambon, the French ambassador at Washington, in behalf of Spain, sued for peace (July 20). The peace protocol was signed at Washington (August 12). Spain relinquished all sovereignty over Cuba, ceded Porto Rico and all her other possessions in the West Indies, and whatever island in the Ladrones the United States should select, assented to the occupation of Manila,—bay, harbor, and city,—leaving to the treaty thereafter to be signed all matters relating to the Philippines, and agreed to immediately evacuate the West Indies. Both governments were to suspend hostilities as soon as the protocol was signed. Five commissioners from each nation, no later than October 1, were to conclude the definite treaty of peace.

Thus Spain departed from the hemisphere which she revealed to the world 406 years before. The news of peace was received with satisfaction by her exhausted people. She was now to concern herself with domestic affairs.

Portugal.—Doña Maria da Gloria II died in 1853. Her father, Pedro I of Brazil, had abdicated the Brazilian throne that he might devote his life to placing the Portuguese crown securely upon her head. Soon

after expelling the usurper, Dom Miguel, Dom Pedro died (1834). The young queen, a girl of fifteen, was left in a position of extreme difficulty. The country was in a condition hardly better than anarchy, and was threatened on one side by Great Britain and on the other by Spain. The great mass of the people were indifferent to politics, either domestic or foreign, but petty chiefs, who could seldom muster a thousand followers, kept the kingdom in continual turmoil. They veiled their pretensions under devotion to the liberal Constitution of 1812 or the democratic Constitution of 1822 or the absolutist Charter of 1826. But it is hard to discern in the machinations of progressists or septembrists or chartists anything higher than the eagerness of men out of power to dispossess those who held it and to obtain it for themselves.

Maria da Gloria was succeeded by her son, Pedro V. Since he was a minor his father, Ferdinand, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, acted as regent. Throughout this reign pestilence ravaged the kingdom. The young king, who had become of age in 1855, devoted himself to the welfare of his people, and refused to leave his plague-stricken capital. He died of cholera in 1861, as did also his brothers, Ferdinand and John. The throne was left to their brother Luiz. With him the shattered kingdom enjoyed at last a peaceful and prosperous reign. His death (October 9, 1889) caused profound grief all over the country. He had married Maria Pia, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy. Their son, Carlos I, afterward became king.

The constitutional Charter of 1826 remained the fundamental law until the proclamation of the republic in 1909. It was modified at various times, lastly in 1895. Careful not to confound administrative functions, it enumerated them distinctly as the legislative, executive, and judicial, and places above them the moderative, or the royal, power.

Spain from 1898 to 1901.—The war with the United States left the Sagasta cabinet in an untenable position. It was unjustly held responsible for every military disaster and for the subsequent humiliating treaty of peace.

Meanwhile, the counter-machinations of Carlists, republicans, and Socialists kept the country in turmoil. Señor Silvela, an astute politician, became president of the Council and minister of foreign affairs (March 4, 1899). The Spanish Caroline and Ladrone islands were sold to Germany (1899). Señor Silvela was forced to resign (October 21, 1900), and then General Azcarraja became head of the cabinet. Spain entered the new century with natural resources neglected, and her people split into violent factions fiercely hostile to one another. A political earthquake to convulse the whole nation seemed constantly impending.

GREAT BRITAIN AND HER POSSESSIONS

The British Empire.—The sovereign of the British Empire bears the title of "King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of its Colonies and Dependencies in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania." The immensity of this title is bewildering. But it affords only a faint indication of the stupendous fact that the British sovereign reigns not only over the most enormous empire the world ever saw, but over one vaster than the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman empires of Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Alexander, and Augustus Cæsar united. Its entire territory amounts to over 12,000,000 square miles, almost a quarter of the total land surface of the globe. Its inhabitants, subjects of the crown, number more than 400,000,000 human beings, more than a fourth of all mankind. Its preeminence upon the sea is even greater than upon the land. Its merchant navy has a tonnage exceeding that of all the merchant fleets of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and the United States combined. So the British seamen are not far wrong in regarding every ocean as a British lake.

That one little island, less than 90,000 square miles in area, on the western verge of Europe, has been able by its brain and enterprise to exert and secure such

unparalleled and world-wide dominion is in itself the most astounding fact of modern history.

British interests, unlike those of any other people, are universal. It may be said that there is no point on the earth's surface that in some way does not touch Great Britain. In this sketch of the years between 1848 and 1901 nothing will be attempted beyond the outline of the most important facts.

Great Britain in 1848.—Queen Victoria had sat upon the throne since June 30, 1837. The two great Whigs were in office, Lord Russell as prime minister, and Lord Palmerston as secretary of foreign affairs. It was the time of "unfulfilled revolutions." The Chartist party, which had carried on agitation since 1832, went to pieces in a miserable fiasco (April 10). But its chief tenets, manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, eligibility to the House of Commons, irrespective of property qualification, and payment of members, have already been accepted, or seem about to be accepted, as laws of the land. The Young Ireland party attempted armed revolution. Its leaders were arrested and sentenced, after trial, to transportation. But the Irish question remained to embarrass legislation through the remainder of the century and to force a gradual solution.

Repeal of the Navigation Laws (1849).—These laws were enacted in the days of Cromwell (1651). They were designed to cripple Holland, then the chief carrying power, and to develop English shipping. They prohibited the importation into England, Ireland, or any English possession, of merchandise from either Asia, Africa, or America, except in English built ships, commanded by Englishmen and manned by crews three-fourths of whom must be English. From Europe no goods could be imported except under the same conditions or in ships of the country where those goods were produced. Under these laws Holland had been crippled and the mastery of the seas secured to England. They had been gradually modified at various times. But they had become no longer necessary. Nevertheless their abolition encountered determined opposition.

The Great Exhibition (1851).—Since then there have been many universal or international exhibitions, notably at Paris (1867), Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876), Paris (1878 and 1889), Chicago (1893), Paris (1900), St. Louis, (1903), but that at the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park was unique, inasmuch as it was the first. Its inception was due to Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria. The mere proposal to exhibit goods of foreign production and to invite foreigners to England encountered a storm of vituperation and abuse. The splendid edifice of iron and glass was itself the most fascinating part of a wonderful display. Over 30,000 visitors were present at the opening (May 1, 1851). The time chosen for the exhibition was most propitious, a sort of interim between the revolutionary storms of 1848 and the outbreak of the Crimean War. The Crystal Palace at Sydenham, erected (1854) from the materials used in the Palace of the Great Exhibition, now affords some slight conception of how imposing was the structure in which the nations for the first time met in peaceful and beneficent rivalry.

Great Britain in the Crimean War (1853-1857).—Various causes led Great Britain to participate in this war. The chief was dread of Russian expansion. It is the only war with a European state in which the empire has engaged from 1815 down to the present time. The country could well be proud of the pluck displayed by the common soldiers at Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman. The Crimean campaign gave the world the inspiration derived from the deeds and name of Miss Florence Nightingale and directly contributed to the foundation of the Red Cross at Geneva in 1863. But in every other respect it brought a terrible disillusion to the British people.

The empire, almost omnipotent upon the water, found itself almost impotent against a civilized enemy on the land. The generals were incapable and sick. Confusion, disorder, and fraud prevailed everywhere. Abundant stores had been paid for and shipped, but the soldiers were without food and their horses without hay. Whole regiments were without shoes. Immense quantities of

boots arrived, but were found to be all for the left foot. Medical and surgical supplies were always at the wrong place, and the wounded and cholera-stricken received no care. Most galling was the superior condition of the French. But their allies were generous and provisions were constantly sent to the British from the French camp.

Even on their own dominion, the water, there had been failure. Amid exuberant demonstrations Sir Charles Napier, with a magnificent fleet, had sailed to attack Cronstadt, but, without accomplishing anything, had been forced to return.

As the state of affairs in the Crimea became gradually known in England, there was an outburst of popular rage. Mr. Roebuck in the House of Commons introduced a motion to investigate the condition of the army and the conduct of the War Department. The government counted on its normal majority in a docile Parliament. It vigorously opposed the motion, which was none the less carried by a majority of 157 (January 31, 1855). Indignation had proved itself stronger than party ties.

The energetic Lord Palmerston became prime minister. At once he dispatched a sanitary commission to the Crimea and revolutionized the commissary department. The British were more ready for war the day it ended than they had been at any preceding time. But Britain had learned a bitter lesson. She set herself to the reform of her military system.

Wars with Persia (1857) **and China** (1857-1860).—The Persian war was quickly finished. The Shah's army was beaten at Koushaub and most of his southern ports occupied. He obtained peace on condition of evacuating Herat in Afghanistan, which he had seized.

The Chinese war was caused by the overbearing policy of Lord Palmerston. The coöperation of France was easily obtained, as she had an outstanding claim against the Chinese. Canton was captured (December, 1857). By the treaty of Tien-Tsin (June, 1858) China agreed to pay the expenses of the war, to no longer apply the term "barbarian" to European residents, and to allow British and French subjects a certain degree of access

to the interior. Again troubles broke out (1859), whereupon the allies stormed Pekin, spent two days in burning the summer palace, and forced China to accept their terms. This time she was to pay a main indemnity of $20,000,000, with other minor indemnities, to accept a British envoy at Pekin, and to apologize for fighting at all. The vandalism of the allies in these expeditions was a disgrace to Western civilization.

The Indian Mutiny (1857-1858).—Many causes have been assigned for the Indian mutiny. The all-sufficient cause is to be found in the detestation which the natives entertained for foreign rule, and in their belief that at last the opportunity had come to shake it off. India was not then a possession of the British crown, but of the East India Company. Chartered in 1600 with a capital of £68,000, that company had rapidly increased in size and wealth until, in 1857, it controlled a territory and a population many-fold larger than the territory and population of the British Islands. Its authority was maintained by a large standing army, mainly composed of sepoys, or Mussulman or Hindu natives, but in part of British troops, and commanded by British officers. In 1857 many of the European soldiers were withdrawn and the sepoys were left in dangerously large proportion. The latter were discontented and sullen. Mutinies were frequent, but had been always put down. Then a rumor spread among the troops that their new cartridges had been smeared with swine's fat, a defilement to the Mussulman, and with cow's fat, a profanation to the Hindu. The cavalry regiment at Meerut mutinied (May 10). Insurrection flooded northern India like a volcanic eruption. It was not a concerted movement. It did not embrace all India. But it put in peril everything that Englishmen had acquired in the peninsula during 250 years. It revealed unsurpassed heroism among the British, both men and women, and made the names of Lieutenant Willoughby, General Havelock, and many other British officers immortal.

During their brief day of power, the sepoys had inflicted every conceivable horror upon their victims. When fortune changed, their conquerors were no more

merciful. The mutiny was not entirely crushed until June, 1858. Soon afterwards the rule of the East India Company was terminated and the government of the country vested in the crown. Lord Canning was appointed the first viceroy of India (November, 1858).

Lord Palmerston Prime Minister (1859-1865).—Accused of subservience to the French emperor, Lord Palmerston had fallen from power in 1858. The Conservative ministry of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli did not last twelve months. Lord Palmerston again became prime minister, Lord Russell secretary of foreign affairs, and Mr. Gladstone chancellor of the exchequer. This strong cabinet controlled the destinies of the empire for six years. One of its most important measures was the Cobden treaty with France (1860), whereby an immense step was taken toward free trade. In Jamaica an insurrection was repressed by Governor Eyre with extraordinary severity (1865).

The Civil War in America (1861-1865).—When the war of secession broke out, the attitude of Great Britain caused surprise and disappointment in America. With unfriendly haste the British government recognized the Confederacy as a belligerent power and issued a proclamation of strict neutrality between the Federal Union and the seceded states (May 13, 1861). Then, regardless of its own proclamation, it permitted privateers like the *Florida* and the *Alabama* to be built in English yards and manned with English sailors in order to prey upon American commerce. Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone, and many members of the House of Commons, especially Liberals, made remarks and speeches which left a sting. The Duke of Argyle, John Stuart Mill, and the Manchester party of Cobden and Bright were staunch friends of the North. Mr. Disraeli was absolutely impartial. An American captain forcibly removed Confederate envoys from the *Trent,* a British mail-boat (November 8). This unjust act was speedily disavowed by President Lincoln, but the negotiations concerning it were conducted by the British secretary in an arrogant and overbearing tone. It was commonly believed that the American Union had broken to pieces,

and Lord Palmerston never spared those whom he considered weak. While the controversy was hottest, the calm and judicious Prince Albert, the amiable consort of Queen Victoria, died (December 14, 1861), as sincerely lamented in the United States as in Great Britain.

Cotton had been obtained almost wholly from America. The blockade of the Southern ports cut off the supply and the mills shut down. Only charity saved the operatives from starvation. More than 480,000 persons in cotton-spinning Lancashire received assistance. But they believed slavery a crime. So, despite their misery, they never wavered in unselfish and never-to-be-forgotten sympathy for the United States.

Second Reform Bill (1867).—Lord Palmerston died (October 18, 1865) and Lord Russell became prime minister. Mr. Gladstone was chancellor of the exchequer. His Reform Bill failed, and Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli returned to office. The latter, convinced that the country urgently desired electoral reforms, introduced and carried what is known as the Second Reform Bill. This was a democratic measure, adding to the list almost 1,000,000 voters, specially among the workingmen. In the boroughs all householders who paid rates and lodgers who occupied buildings of an annual value of ten pounds became voters. So, too, in the counties did persons occupying houses or lands of twelve pounds annual value. This bill abolished many inequalities, disfranchising small constituencies and securing increased representation to large ones.

First Gladstone Ministry (1868-1874). **The Irish Question.**—The elections under the Reform Bill gave the Liberals a large majority and made Mr. Gladstone prime minister. The badly organized and ill-fated Fenian movement had been noisily dragging along for nine years. Mr. Gladstone grappled at once with the Irish question. Ireland had serious grounds of complaint. Those most apparent could be grouped roughly under two heads, the Church and the Land. As to the Church: the large majority of the Irish were intensely Catholic, but the Irish state church was Protestant, Anglican, and heavily endowed. As to the Land: the position of

the tenant was little removed from serfdom and he was practically at the mercy of his landlord. He could be evicted at the landlord's pleasure, and had no claim for money expended and improvements made. Mr. Gladstone's measure for the disestablishment of the Irish church and its partial disendowment became a law on July 26, 1869. His other measure, which freed the tenant from the grip of his landlord, guaranteed him the fruits of his labor and protected him by a special judiciary arrangement, became a law on August 1, 1870.

The Alabama Claims.—Under the term "Alabama Claims" is summed up the gravest case the United States have had against Great Britain since 1776. Mr. Adams, the American minister to the Court of St. James, gave notice (November 20, 1862) that the United States solicited redress for the public and private injuries caused by the *Alabama*. Lord Russell denied any British liability for the same. Mr. Adams (April 5, 1865) submitted an official memorandum of the losses caused by the *Alabama,* and similar ships of war which had gone from Great Britain. He had previously suggested arbitration. Lord Russell replied that the British government declined "either to make reparation or compensation . . . or to refer the question to any foreign state." Succeeding British cabinets were less reserved.

The Johnson-Clarendon Convention to adjust these claims was rejected as unsatisfactory by the American Senate (April, 1869). The United States took no further action. Later on, when the European political sky grew threatening, Great Britain herself made overtures for an adjustment (January, 1871). After long negotiations the whole matter was submitted to a tribunal of arbitration, the president of the United States, the queen of Great Britain, the king of Italy, the president of the Swiss Republic, and the emperor of Brazil each appointing one commissioner. The tribunal, the British delegate alone dissenting, decided that the British government had "failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligations," and awarded the United States an indemnity of $15,500,000 (September 14, 1872).

Second Disraeli Ministry (1874-1880).—Mr. Disraeli was created a peer under the title of Lord Beaconsfield in August, 1876. His administration concerned itself little with domestic politics, but won spectacular triumphs in foreign affairs. Soon he announced in the House of Commons that he had secured to Great Britain proprietary control of the Suez Canal by purchasing the shares of the khedive of Egypt for £4,000,000 (February, 1876). He consolidated the authority of the queen over India by inducing her to assume the proud title of Empress of India, and by assembling a gorgeous durbar at Delhi, where all the chief native princes acclaimed Victoria as the successor of the Great Mogul (January, 1877). This dramatic ceremony made a deeper impression upon the Oriental mind than any display of armies could have done. By peaceful convention with Turkey he acquired the island of Cyprus, which is of importance in commanding the Suez Canal, but, above all, aimed to counterbalance the Russian fortress of Kars and threaten the Syrian route to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf (1878). He imposed the Congress of Berlin on Russia (June, 1878), thus forcing that victorious empire to submit to the arbitrament of Europe and vindicating the principle that what concerns all cannot be decided by one alone. The territorial decisions of that congress, as of all similar international assemblies, were certain to be modified by circumstances and time, but the fact that the congress convened was a striking diplomatic triumph for Great Britain. The reverse of the picture is found in the Zulu war (1877-1879), the attempted annexation of the Transvaal Republic (1878-1881), and the second Afghan war in search of " a scientific frontier " (1878-1881), none of which increased the reputation of British justice or British arms. Lord Beaconsfield died a year after his departure from office (April 19, 1881).

Second Gladstone Ministry (1880-1885).—The defeat of the University Bill for Ireland had thrown Mr. Gladstone from power in 1874. The Irish question thrust itself to the forefront throughout his second administration. In 1873 the Irish Home Rule movement had

begun. Its founder was Isaac Butt, and his great successor in leadership was Charles Stewart Parnell. It sought self-government for Ireland in local affairs, but by legal means without violence. In 1879 the National Irish Land League was formed. It aimed at abolishing the iniquitous landlord system and introducing peasant proprietorship. The landlords were in the habit of evicting their tenants and the tenant of committing outrages in revenge. The government passed a coercive act, arrested Parnell and other Irish leaders, threw them into prison, and suppressed the Land League. Lord Frederick Cavendish, chief secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Burke, permanent under-secretary, were assassinated in Phœnix Park, Dublin (May 5, 1882). In unhappy Ireland coercion and murder kept pace.

Occupation of Egypt (1882).—The khedive acted as both ruler and proprietor of Egypt. The enormous loans which he had obtained in Europe resulted in the country being placed under the dual financial control of Great Britain and France. Rapidly succeeding khedives were lazy and weak and the interests of the natives were entirely ignored. France withdrew from the combination. Colonel Arabi Pasha raised the cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians," and began to fortify Alexandria. He desisted at the remonstrance of the British consul. A native mob plundered the European quarter and murdered several foreigners. Arabi Pasha went on with his defenses. The British fleet bombarded the city, and meanwhile the infuriated populace massacred more than 2000 Europeans (July 12, 1882). Two days later the British forces disembarked and took possession. Arabi Pasha concentrated his army at Tel-el-Kebir. Attacked by General Wolseley (September 13), the Egyptians fought bravely, but finally took to flight, leaving 2000 dead. Arabi Pasha was exiled to Ceylon and the British have since occupied Egypt.

Mohammed Achmet, who proclaimed himself the Mahdi, raised his banner in the Sudan and defeated four Egyptian armies (1880-1882). Next he destroyed an Anglo-Egyptian force of 10,000 men, commanded by

General Hicks Pasha and forty European officers (October, 1883). General ("Chinese") Gordon was sent from London (January 18, 1884) to rescue the Egyptian garrisons still remaining in the Sudan. Just one month later (February 18) he reached Khartum, which was at once invested by the Arabs. In desperate need of assistance he seemed to have been forgotten by his government. Toward the end of the year a powerful expedition started with precipitate haste to his relief. A few days earlier it might have saved him. Before it arrived, Khartum had been captured and Major-General Gordon, one of the saintliest and most heroic soldiers England ever produced, was slain by the Arabs on January 27, 1885.

The Third Reform Bill (June, 1885).—This bill emphasized the progress of Great Britain toward universal suffrage, adding nearly 2,000,000 voters, largely from the agricultural classes, to the list. It redistricted the country on the basis of population and rectified the former undue proportion of members allowed the towns. Heretofore the towns had one deputy for every 41,200 inhabitants and the country districts one deputy for every 70,800.

First Ministry of Lord Salisbury (1885-1886). **Third Gladstone Ministry. The Irish Home Rule Bill.**—The Liberal majority of 120 in the Commons had gradually shrunk to a minority. Lord Salisbury became prime minister. Five months afterwards Mr. Gladstone again took office. To the new House 335 Liberals had been elected, 249 Conservatives, and eighty-six Irish Home Rulers. The system of coercion pursued by Mr. Gladstone in his former ministry had utterly failed. Completely reversing his preceding policy, he introduced an Irish Home Rule Bill. The Irish members abandoned their temporary alliance with the Conservatives and rallied to its support. But the bill was opposed by many Liberal leaders, among them Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chamberlain, and John Bright, who took the name of Liberal Unionists. It was defeated by a majority of thirty. Parliament was immediately dissolved.

Second Salisbury Ministry (1886-1892).—The elections had given the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists a majority of 112 over the Gladstonians and Irish Home Rulers combined. The policy of Lord Salisbury's second administration was vigor in foreign relations and renewed coercion in Ireland. The Bering Sea controversy with the United States in regard to the seal fisheries began in 1886 and was supposed to have secured a settlement in 1893. Parliament dissolved in 1892, having filled its allotted span of six years.

Fourth Gladstone Ministry (1892-1894). **Lord Rosebery Prime Minister** (1894-1895). **Third Salisbury Ministry** (1895-1902).—This time the united Gladstonians and Irish Home Rulers obtained a majority of forty-two, though among the English members there was an adverse majority of seventy. Mr. Gladstone was again prime minister. The Home Rule Bill, victorious in the House of Commons, was defeated in the House of Lords by a vote of more than ten to one. The venerable prime minister, at the age of eighty-four, resigned his high office, and advised the queen to intrust Lord Rosebery with the formation of a cabinet.

Dissensions and internal rivalries soon further weakened the Liberal party. At the elections in July, 1895, the Conservatives obtained a clear majority and were no longer dependent on their still faithful allies, the Liberal Unionists, for support. The Irish question could not, however, be shelved. The ministry itself introduced an Irish Local Government Bill, which was approved by the House of Lords on July 29, 1898. The foreign policy of Lord Salisbury in his third ministry was less vigorous than during former premierships. In international questions, like the Armenian massacres or the troubles in China, Great Britain was content to act or to abstain from acting in concert with the great Powers. No American, furthermore, should forget, when recalling the history of the recent struggle of the United States with Spain, that the sympathies of the British government and people were almost unanimously upon the American side. Lord Salisbury and the Englishmen of 1898 carefully avoided the blunder of Lord

Palmerston and the Englishmen of 1861-1865. On May 19, 1898, Mr. Gladstone died, at the age of eighty years.

The government made great efforts to extend British rule in Africa. The victory of Sir Herbert Kitchener over the dervishes at Umdurman (September 2, 1898) assured possession of the Egyptian Sudan. Conventions with France and Germany regulated the boundaries of their respective African claims. More serious was the attempt to subjugate the Dutch or Boer republics of the Transvaal and of the Orange Free State. The war began October 11, 1899. Though the two capitals, Bloemfontein and Pretoria, were captured and the annexation of the Orange Free State (May 28, 1900) and the Transvaal (September 1, 1900) was officially proclaimed, the Boers still maintained a fierce resistance. In this war, Great Britain expended a vast sum of money and sent into the field a larger number of soldiers than the entire adult white population of the two republics. The Parliament, having lasted over five years, was dissolved (September, 1900). As in the subsequent election the government obtained a majority of 134 in a full house of 670 members, Lord Salisbury retained office. The commonwealth of Australia, comprising the five Australian colonies and Tasmania, was inaugurated on the first day of the twentieth century.

Death of Queen Victoria.—On Tuesday, January 22, 1901, Queen Victoria died. She had won universal admiration as wife, mother, and queen, and died beloved and lamented by the entire civilized world.

Characteristics of the Reign.—The first was its length. Edward III reigned fifty years, George III fifty-nine years, Victoria sixty-three. Thus the queen occupied the throne longer than any of her predecessors. Furthermore, having succeeded at the age of eighteen, she was always the real as well as the nominal ruler. Louis XIV reigned longer, but, acceding when a child of five, the French king during ten years possessed no real authority. Hence Queen Victoria personally exercised royal rule for a greater period than any other sovereign in history. As to general prosperity and intellectual

brilliancy, the only other English reign worthy of comparison is that of Queen Elizabeth. Wordsworth (1770-1850), Macaulay (1800-1859), Browning (1812-1889), and Tennyson (1809-1892), and a host of others all added luster to the Victorian era. The England of the sixteenth century was an undeveloped child beside that territorial giant, the British Empire of to-day. Under Victoria the area of the empire and the number of its subjects more than doubled. The reign was memorable for political progress. The Civil Service Reform (1853-1855), the Removal of all Disabilities from the Jews (1859), the Abolition of Army Purchase and University Religious Tests (1871), the Ballot Act (1872), the Act for the Prevention of Corrupt Practices at Elections (1883), the Plimsoll Act for the Better Protection of Seamen (1886), the two Reform Bills of 1867 and 1885, were among the hard-wrung acquisitions which, once acquired, contribute to a nation's greatness.

None the less, there was another and a somber side to the shield. Continued unjust taxation consolidated the Irish people in discontent. The South African war damaged British military prestige. The industrial expansion of Germany and America impaired British supremacy in manufactures and production. It is doubtful if, at the end of Victoria's splendid reign, the relative influence of Great Britain in the world's politics was as great as in 1837.

Disraeli and Gladstone.—These two politically incarnate the Victorian era. Their swords first clashed in the House of Commons in February, 1852. The agony of their contest ended only when Gladstone pronounced his eloquent eulogy over the bier of his rival in April, 1881. Each thrice succeeded the other as chancellor of the exchequer. In the same year, 1868, both vaulted to the summit of British political ambition. Twice Mr. Disraeli gave place to Mr. Gladstone as prime minister. Disraeli, at first a radical, became a conservative, and Mr. Gladstone, at first a conservative, became a radical. In each there always remained something of his earlier political creed. Disraeli failed in his Reform Bill of

1859, but gave the workingmen the Reform Bill of 1868. Gladstone failed in his Reform Bill of 1867, but gave the agricultural classes the Reform Bill of 1884. Disraeli presented Great Britain with Cyprus, a province of the Sultan, and Gladstone presented her with Egypt, another province of the Sultan. Both were endowed with unusual talent, but Gladstone was born in the purple of politics, and Disraeli was the child of an ostracized race. To Gladstone honors came apparently unasked. To Disraeli honors came because he forced them to come. Each served Great Britain with his might. The overshadowing figure of Gladstone seems to hide to the eye the titanic proportions of his rival who passed away so long before him. But as both recede in the horizon of the past, the problem will constantly grow more difficult as to which was the greater. For nothing is the reign more memorable than that two such men, through almost a generation, were pitted against each other in a political duel such as the history of statecraft nowhere else presents.

PARTITION OF AFRICA, ASIA, AND OCEANIA

Seizure of Unoccupied Territory.—One of the main characteristics of contemporary history is the division among themselves by the European Powers of the "unoccupied" portions of the globe,—"unoccupied" meaning all regions, not already reckoned as possessions of European governments or held by descendants of Europeans who have burst colonial bonds and founded independent states. That is, those territories which are not controlled by Europeans, or by descendants of Europeans, are politically reckoned as not "occupied" at all. This is simply the application in the nineteenth century of the principle held unquestioned 400 years ago.

The newly discovered Western Hemisphere was looked upon and treated by European nations in the sixteenth century as land destitute of inhabitants, or at most

lived upon by inhabitants who had no political and almost no other rights. The treaties made with the natives were generally, in the estimation of the newcomers, merely additional precautions of self-defense, like the forts and stockades they built. As the stockades and forts were abandoned, when no longer of advantage, so, as the colonists grew strong, the treaties were commonly forgotten. The exceptional instances, when such was not the case, as in the dealings of William Penn, are dwelt upon as remarkable and awaken no more admiration than surprise. Some nations were less inhuman than others, but the process of converting the "unoccupied" into the "occupied" was everywhere the same. Nor did priority of occupation insure possession to one European against another, unless it could be maintained by force.

The entire theory and practice of sixteenth-century occupation has been revived, specially in the last half of the present century. The justice or injustice of its application has never changed. If it was right when, at the end of the Middle Ages, undreamed of regions were revealed to the wonder of Europe, it is right now. If it was wrong then, it is wrong now. The relatively increased superiority of the civilized over the uncivilized in arms and efficiency has made latter-day conquest more speedy and more effectual. Often it has been no less stoutly resisted. But conquest has not been essential to political occupation. Hundreds of thousands of square miles have been "occupied" with hardly the firing of a shot. International conventions and agreements have indicated upon the map a partition of lands and peoples, of which meanwhile the human beings appropriated have known nothing.

Before the year 1848 the Western Hemisphere was "occupied." The weakness of its smaller independent states, whose citizens were largely of European origin, was protected by the Monroe doctrine of 1823. This doctrine declared that the American continents should not "be considered as subjects for colonization by the European Powers."

But the grasp after empire in the Old World outside Europe during the last fifty years has been feverish and

almost universal. It has repeated in spoliation and appropriation all that the New World ever experienced. Distance counted for nothing, and sometimes the worthlessness of the acquisition no more. Technically the system of annexation varied in different circumstances and at different times. Yet, reduced to plain terms, the process has been uniform and simple, merely to seize and to retain. Before 1848 only a relatively small proportion of Africa, Asia, and Oceania was "occupied." Now in all Oceania there is hardly an island over which there does not float a European flag. Africa has been parceled out among the powers as half a dozen heirs might divide the farm of some intestate dead man. Asia, most venerable in history, mother of the nations, has been compressed in a grip ever tightening around her receding frontiers, or has resembled an island whose diminishing outer rim the aggressive waters rapidly wear away.

Occupation of Africa.—In 1848 isolated European colonies dotted the coasts of Afriea, but less than 400,000 square miles of territory acknowledged European proprietorship. Far inland from this sparse outer fringe stretched a vague vast expanse of 11,000,000 square miles, unpossessed and unexplored. All this enormous territory was mapped out and practically divided up before the end of the nineteenth century. The German Empire took 1,000,000 square miles; Belgium in the Congo Free State 900,000; France 2,900,000; Portugal 800,000; and other less formidable national adventurers 500,000 more. In all Africa, in 1900, Morocco, Abyssinia, Liberia, and a portion of the unbounded Sahara were the only regions to which European Powers did not put forth a claim.

Great Britain secured over 3,000,000 square miles. The expedition up the Nile (August, 1898), under General Kitchener, aimed at the conquest of the Sudan between Egypt and British East, or Equatorial, Africa. Its quickly assured success rendered possible at no distant day the completion of a British trans-African railway, over 5000 miles long, from Alexandria to Cape Town, passing all the way through British territory.

The Boer Republics.—Later occupation has not respected prior rights of European settlers, except as vindicated by arms. The Boers, descendants of the early Dutch colonists, a simple, primitive, Bible-reading people, emigrated from Cape Colony, after it became a British possession, and founded on the north and along the coast the Dutch Republic of Natal. The British, whose only claim was founded on superior strength, conquered and annexed this republic in 1843. Again the Boers emigrated, this time to the west and the interior, and founded the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, or South African Republic. The independence of both was formally recognized by the British government. To overthrow these two states and annex their territory of 168,000 square miles was the constant endeavor for half a century of the British colonies of Natal, Cape of Good Hope, and Rhodesia, which surrounded the Boer states except on the northeast. The British government was persuaded to proclaim the annexation of the Transvaal (April 12, 1877), but the Boers successfully resisted, by arms, this assault upon their independence. Likewise, in 1896, they defeated and captured a British force which, in violation of all treaties, was marching against their capital. Any participation in this attack was disclaimed by the British government, but the two republics became apprehensive and at once began to prepare for the conflict which they saw was inevitable.

Occupation of Asia.—Asia might appear inviolable with her immensity of more than 14,000,000 square miles and her population of nearly 900,000,000 souls. Her countless hordes, set in resistless motion by a sudden common impulse, were until modern times the terror of mankind. Genghis Khan has not been dead 700 years nor Tamerlane 500. Yet, except Japan, which was galvanized into unwilling life by the United States in 1853 and now sure of her own existence, all Asia is at the mercy of Europe and protected only by the jealousies of the Western states. While other nations are active in their struggle after a share in Asiatic spoils, her conquest and division was accomplished above all by Great Britain and Russia. Between the upper, or northern,

millstone of Russia and the lower, or southern, millstone of Great Britain, she was being ground with the remorselessness of fate.

The barriers of the Caucasus were overthrown by the surrender of the Circassians and Schamyl (1859) to Prince Bariatinski. The Caspian has become a Russian lake. Nominally independent, Persia is so completely under Russian influence as to resemble a protectorate—and what is not Russian is British. Elsewhere the tragic history of modern Persia is touched upon more fully. Across the subjugated khanates of Bokhara (1873), Khokand (1875), and Khiva (1875), Russia pushed her outposts as far as the Tien Shan, or Celestial Mountains. By Turkestan, Siberia, and Manchuria she envelops China on the west, north, and northeast in a great concave.

In Southern Asia, Beloochistan, since 1854, has gradually disintegrated into a British "political agency." Afghanistan, on which Great Britain has expended millions of pounds and thousands of lives, still maintains a fluctuating, savage independence. Its emir, Abdur Rahman, elated with his successes, assumed (1896) the pompous Afghan title of "Light of Union and Religion," but the division of his states between the two empires was not thereby rendered remote. One-eighth of the Asiatic continent and more than a third of its entire population are contained in British India. By the acquisition of the feudatory state of Sikkim (1889) Great Britain plunges through the Himalayas and imperils China on the south. The kingdom of Burmah was attacked and annexed to the British dominions in 1885. To Singapore have been gradually annexed, mostly since 1848, the petty states of the Malay Peninsula under the name of the Straits Settlements.

The disintegration of the Chinese Empire was begun by the British in the opium war (1839-1842), by which the island of Hong Kong was acquired. The opposite peninsula of Kau-Lung was ceded to Great Britain after the English and French wars with China in 1856-1860. Manchuria, north of the Amur and east of the Usuri, was ceded to Russia in 1860.

France, eager for Asiatic territory, annexed Cochin-China (1861), Cambodia (1862), Anam and Tonking (1884), and Siam east of the Mekong River (1893-1896), altogether an area of 383,000 square miles.

Japan, in one respect at least, caught the European spirit. She was emulous of similar conquests. After more than three years of careful and extensive preparation she believed herself ready and, owing to clashing claims as to the supremacy in Korea, forced war on China (1894). The latter was wholly unprepared. Japan was everywhere victorious, both on sea and land. By the treaty of Shimonoseki (April 16, 1895), the conquerors compelled the cession of the island of Formosa (15,000 square miles) and an indemnity of 230,000,000 taels. The intervention of Russia, Germany, and France forced the surrender of the mainland back to China.

Soon afterward the Germans obtained Kiau Chau (December, 1897), the Russians, Port Arthur and Talian Wan (April, 1898), and the British, Wei Hai Wei with a large extension of territory at Hong Kong (April, 1898). Though supported by the British minister, the demand of the Italians for the Bay of Sammun was refused (February, 1899).

Long-smoldering hatred against foreigners burst forth in 1900. Through the northern and eastern provinces the mass of the people, led by the so-called Boxers, rose in fury. Hundreds of Europeans and native Christians were massacred. Foreign property worth many millions was destroyed. At Pekin the German ambassador was assassinated. The legations were besieged from June 20 to August 12. The survivors were finally rescued by an army composed of European, American, and Japanese troops. For this disorder and outrage the Western powers forced China to pay roundly.

Occupation of Oceania.—Oceania is a comprehensive and elastic term, commonly denoting the islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans. The largest of these, Australia, because of its prodigious extent of over 3,000,000 square miles, is often reckoned a continent. It is a British dominion. Now inhabited by an active popula-

tion of more than 4,000,000 people, its first settlement dates from the middle, and its division into the five great constitutional states of Victoria, Queensland, New South Wales, South Australia, and Western Australia from the last half of the nineteenth century.

Papua, or New Guinea, "the largest island in the world," during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was parceled out between three Powers, Germany in 1884 acquiring 72,000 square miles under the name of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land; Great Britain in 1888 acquiring 90,000 square miles; while the remainder, 150,000 square miles, went to the Netherlands.

In Borneo, situated halfway between Australia and Hong Kong, a gradual accretion, since 1836, resulted in a formal British protectorate (1888-1890) over British North Borneo, Brunei, Sarawak, and the Limbang River district, altogether about 81,000 square miles. Its remaining 203,000 square miles belong to the Netherlands.

Madagascar, with its 228,500 square miles, is reckoned "the third largest island in the world." After a long succession of wars with the natives on the part of the French, it was recognized by Great Britain as a protectorate of France (1890) and became fully a French possession in 1896.

The three islands of Tasmania, or New Zealand, comprise 103,900 square miles. They received their first immigrants in 1839. A little territory was ceded by the native chiefs during the following year. Great Britain was able to assert an undisputed control in 1875.

In 1898 Spain ceded the more than 1200 Philippine and Sulu Islands and the Ladrone island Guam to the United States. Subsequently Spain sold to Germany all the Caroline and Ladrone Islands except Guam. There are also the Moluccas and Java and Sumatra and many others with spicy names, making an area of 338,000 square miles, which, together with the Dutch territories in Borneo and New Guinea, constitute the Dutch East Indies. They have belonged to the Netherlands since the dissolution of the Dutch East India Company in 1798.

In the Pacific Great Britain acquired the 200 Fiji Islands, 8045 square miles, by cession of the native

chiefs (1874); Pitcairn Island (1839); Labuan Island (1846); the twelve Manihikis (1888); the sixteen atolls called the Gilbert Islands (1892); Malden Island, rich in guano (1866); and eighteen islands of the Santa Cruz and Duff groups (1898). She has also secured, mostly since 1848, the fifteen Hervey or Cook Islands, the Palmerston Islands, Ducie Island, the Suvarof Islands, Dudoza Island, Victoria Island, the five clusters of the Tokelau or Union Islands, the eight Phœnix Islands, the islands and groups of the Lagoons, Starbuck Island, Jarvis Island, Christmas Island, Fanning Island, Washington Island, and Palmyra Island. She acquired the southern half of the Solomon Islands (1893), and the northern half except Bougainville Island from Germany in 1899. The New Hebrides Islands have been shared by Great Britain and France. To the thriving Island of Mauritius, taken from the French (1810), Great Britain has since added in one colonial dependency the Rodrigues, Seychelles, Amirantes, Cargados, and the Oil Groups. By the consent of Germany she also acquired the 150 Tonga or Friendly Islands in 1899. That same year the Samoan Islands were divided between Germany and the United States, the latter retaining Tutuila and those east of 171° east longitude.

The Route to India.—To fortify the sea route to India and to hold the natural strongholds in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean, from which the British Indian Empire might be threatened, has been the untiring preoccupation of British statesmen. This has been rendered necessary by the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869. The chain of Gibraltar (1704), Malta (1800), Cyprus (1878), and the Suez Canal itself (1876) is continued by the volcanic peninsula of Aden (1839), since enlarged by an acquired protectorate over an inland region of 8000 square miles, by Perim Island (1857), Sokotra Island (1876), and the Kuria Muria Islands off the Arabian coast. These last acquisitions guard the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb and render the waters of the Red Sea more distinctively British than is St. George's Channel between England and Ireland. The eight Bahrein Islands, famous for their pearls, since

1857 guard in British interests the mouth of the Persian Gulf. With what might seem superfluous solicitude Great Britain annexed the Andaman Islands (1858) with a territory of 1760 square miles, the nineteen Nicobar Islands (1869) with a territory of 634 square miles, and the numerous coral group of the Laccadives with 744 square miles.

Some Results of Territorial Expansion.—In this movement of territorial expansion four nations have led the van. During the past sixty years Great Britain has taken possession of over 3,600,000 square miles of "unoccupied" territory, France of over 3,200,000 square miles, and Russia and Germany of about 1,200,000 square miles apiece. Some of these acquisitions have been prompted only by lust for mere land or to forestall some other grasper.

Whatever the French and German colonial possessions may become in the future, thus far they have proved only a burden and a cause of expense without proportionate gain. In France, where the population is almost stationary, the land well divided among many petty proprietors and the colonial instinct weak, there is little to impel to emigration. Algeria is close to France, separated only by the width of the Mediterranean. Its natural advantages are great. Nowhere could French colonization have a more accessible and a more attractive field. Yet, after eighty years of occupancy, the French colonists are fewer in number than those from the other European states, and the annual expenditure—not including interest on the growing debt nor necessary appropriations for the army and navy nor the cost of original conquest—exceeds the revenue by more than 19,000,000 francs. In the same way other and remoter French possessions, like Anam, Tonking, Madagascar, and Cochin-China, make no effective appeal to French emigrants and have generally been exhaustive drains upon the resources of France.

The Germans are a more prolific people than the French and more adventurous. Unequal distribution of land in their native country and social inequality render them ready emigrants. But they show disinclination

to colonize where the imperial German system prevails. The Kameruns in Africa have been a colony for nearly twenty-five years. Their coast line is more than 200 miles long and their area more than 191,000 square miles. But in 1897 they had only 181 German residents. In Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, German since 1884, there were in 1896 only ninety-seven Germans. That is, in both colonies united there were not so many German emigrants as constantly cross the Atlantic from Bremen in a single ship. There is not a state in the American Union in which there are not to-day from four times to 1200 times as many German-born inhabitants as in both these two pet colonies of the Kaiser's. In 1900 there were few if any German colonial dependencies where the revenue was a third of the expenditure.

The acquisitions of Russia and Great Britain, on the other hand, have been made in accordance with the nature of their people and on the lines of a sound political policy. Neither has been tempted by mere territorial aggrandizement to acquire or retain what was without value or might become a source of weakness. So Russia was ready to sell Alaska, in 1867, to the United States and to give Japan, in 1875, the Kurile Islands in exchange for the southern half of Saghalien. Likewise, Great Britain, in 1864, could cede the Ionian Islands to Greece; and Heligoland, in 1890, to Germany.

Russia is an immense, continuous land empire, situated in the north with a minimum of coast line. Her northern harbors are closed by ice through a large part of the year, and her southern harbors are prevented by physical or other causes from free access to great bodies of water. Her natural expansion would be eastward, southward, and toward the sea. Thus in the Caucasus, the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Turkestan, and China she has ever pushed in this direction. Her conquests she easily assimilates and amalgamates their inhabitants to her own people.

Britain, the island center of the British Empire, has no other highway than the seas. Her people are active, venturesome, and aggressive. The contracted limits of

the island force the expatriation of its prolific children. No other people equal them as colonizers and no other are so at home the world over. Commercial instinct joins with marvelous manufacturing ability to seek and find everywhere a market. As the development of Russia has always seemed to be inevitable and resistless by land, so has the development of Great Britain appeared to be inevitable and resistless by sea.

THE UNITED STATES FROM 1848 TO 1900

American History.—The most important of all histories to an American is that of his own country. Not only does it appeal to his patriotism, but in it is found as nowhere else the story of self-government by the people. Moreover, during the past fifty years few nations have equaled the United States in contributions to the sum of human welfare and progress. A history so interesting and comprehensive cannot be summed up nor will it be sought in the limited compass of any compendium. This book deals with world history, primarily with European history. It will therefore be the object of the chapters devoted to American development to merely touch upon those points wherein the United States have come in contact with the rest of the world, rather than to narrate internal and domestic affairs.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848). **The Gadsden Purchase** (1853).—The last half of the nineteenth century of American history is bounded at both its beginning and end by a war, the one with Mexico, the most powerful and most populous of the Spanish-American states, and the other, in 1898, with Spain herself. The first war, after a series of American successes, was terminated by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (February 2, 1848). Thereby the United States secured from Mexico the cession of 526,078 square miles and agreed to pay in return $15,000,000 and to satisfy claims of American citizens against Mexico to the amount of $3,250,000. This cession was rounded out in 1853, when Mr. Gadsden,

for the sum of $10,000,000, purchased from Mexico, to which he was the American minister, 45,535 square miles south of the river Gila. From the region thus acquired have been carved California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and part of Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and the Panama Canal (1850).—Intense excitement followed the discovery of gold in California early in 1848. During the following year between 80,000 and 100,000 eager gold hunters crowded to the newly opened mines. The United States already enjoyed the right of transit across the Isthmus of Panama, but it was of supreme importance to open up direct water communication with the distant territory. The consent and coöperation of Nicaragua was obtained by treaty for the construction of a ship canal from San Juan on the Atlantic through the lake of Nicaragua to the Pacific coast. But Great Britain claimed to exercise a protectorate over the Mosquito Indians, who were supposed to occupy the eastern coast through which the canal was to pass. She refused to permit its joint construction by Nicaragua and the United States. In the subsequent negotiations between Mr. Clayton, the American secretary of state, and Sir Henry Bulwer, the British ambassador at Washington, who acted in behalf of the British government, Great Britain scored the diplomatic victory known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. By this treaty both the United States and Great Britain renounced any exclusive control over the proposed ship canal. At the same time, they both agreed to neither occupy, fortify, nor colonize Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America. The British government clung to the validity of the first clause of this treaty. The American government, on the other hand, maintained that, as "Great Britain had persistently violated her agreement not to colonize the Central American coast," the treaty was void. The Spanish-American war of 1898 increased the necessity for a canal connecting the two oceans and emphasized the fact that it should be under the undivided control of the United States.

Complications with Austria (1849-1854).—Great sympathy was felt for the Hungarians in their struggle with Austria. An agent was sent by President Taylor to obtain definite information as to whether recognition of the revolutionary government was warranted. Afterwards the frigate *Mississippi* was commissioned to bring the exiled leader, Kossuth, to the United States, where he was received with great enthusiasm. The Austrian chargé d'affaires at Washington sharply protested against the dispatch of the agent and the reception of Kossuth. Daniel Webster had become secretary of state. He replied in a powerful state paper, setting forth the principles by which the American nation considered itself controlled in dealing with international affairs.

Later on trouble arose over Martin Koszta, a Hungarian refugee, who had filed (1852) his declaration preliminary to naturalization as an American citizen. Visiting Smyrna in Asia Minor, in 1854, he was seized at the instigation of the Austrian consul-general by the crew of an Austrian frigate and thrown into irons. This was in contempt of the fact that he had an American passport in his possession. Demands for his release were refused. Thereupon the captain of an American man-of-war, then in the harbor, prepared to use force and cleared his deck for action. Koszta was then placed by the Austrians under the charge of the French consul-general, and was soon afterwards allowed to return to America.

The Ostend Manifesto (1854).—The acquisition of Cuba, "the gem of the Antilles," was always ardently desired by the southern states of the American Union. Its chronic misgovernment called forth their sympathy, but, above all, if a possession of the United States, it would add to their political power. Under the direction of President Pierce, Messrs. Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, the American ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain, met at Ostend to consult as to the measures necessary for its acquisition (1854). Then they issued the results of their deliberations in what is called the Ostend Manifesto. This paper set forth the grounds on which the annexation of the island was desired. It caused a

profound sensation and a measure of apprehension in Europe.

Perry's Expedition to Japan (1852-1854).—In 1637 all foreign traders, except the Dutch and the Chinese, were expelled from Japan. By exceptional favor the Dutch were permitted to occupy the small, artificial island of Deshima in the harbor of Nagasaki. Their commerce, however, was severely restricted, no vessels being allowed to enter except one merchantman a year from Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies. Up to the middle of the last century the Japanese jealously maintained their seclusion from the rest of mankind. The country suffered under a dual system of government, whereby the power of the de jure ruler, who resided at Kioto, was curtailed by the de facto ruler, the shogun, who resided at Yedo or Tokio. Meanwhile, a party of more liberal ideas was growing up which, while detesting all foreigners, desired to gain from abroad whatever advantages it could. It was ignorant and ill-informed, but appreciated the superiority of foreign arms, arts, and inventions.

Suddenly, without intimation of its coming, an American fleet made its appearance in the bay of Yedo (July 8, 1853). The astounded city was terror-stricken. No such sight had ever been seen in Japanese waters. That fleet had left America late in 1852 under the command of Commodore Perry, who was invested with extraordinary powers for the conclusion of treaties with Japan. As the bearer of a letter from President Fillmore, he refused to enter into communication with any except the highest dignitaries in the land. The Japanese were perplexed but courteous. The letter was delivered to the emperor. Then Commodore Perry sailed away, but returned in the following spring for his answer. After tedious negotiations, his diplomatic ability partially broke down the bars of separation. It was agreed that the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate should be open to American vessels, that an American consul should reside at Shimoda, and that Americans should enjoy a certain liberty of trade and travel in some of the coast cities. This first treaty between Japan and a foreign state was

signed on May 31, 1854. The other nations in quick succession sought and obtained the same advantages. But it was the honor of the United States to have led the way. Without the firing of a shot she had opened Japan to the brotherhood of nations, and had brought Western civilization and commerce to her ports.

The United States and China (1858-1892).—The war carried on by the allied British and French against China in 1856-1860 gave much concern to the American government. W. B. Reed was sent by President Buchanan to watch the course of events and mediate if possible between the contending parties. On behalf of his government he negotiated a commercial treaty with the Chinese, wherein the language of several clauses reveals their well-founded suspicion of Western aims and methods. For six years (1861-1867) Anson Burlingame was American minister to the "Middle Kingdom." His rare tact made him the virtual director of the empire in its foreign relations. When about to return home, he was tendered and accepted the high position of envoy extraordinary from China to the Western Powers. With French and British secretaries and Chinese attachés he returned to his native country, and there negotiated a treaty, advantageous and honorable to both China and the United States, which was approved on July 16, 1868. Ten years later (1878) a Chinese embassy was established at Washington, when Chen Lan Pin was received by President Hayes as minister plenipotentiary. Fourteen years later still the Chinese Exclusion Act was introduced to "absolutely prohibit the coming of Chinese persons to the United States." Its object was to prevent the immigration of Chinese laborers. Their immigration had assumed so large proportions as to cause anxiety, specially on the Pacific coast. The bill, called the Geary Act because introduced by Mr. Geary of California, after some modifications was approved by both Houses and received the signature of President Harrison (May 5, 1892).

The Civil War (1861-1865).—The question of slavery had become the most persistent and complex in American political life. Prominent ever since the foundation

SHERMAN MARCHING THROUGH GEORGIA TO THE SEA 1864

From the Painting by F. O. C. Darley

of the Union, gradually it had crowded all other questions to the background. In 1860 fifteen states employed slave labor. The sixteen other states did not. The former were commonly called Southern or slave states, and the latter Northern or free states. The presidential election of 1860 disclosed the nation drawn up in sectional lines. Mr. Lincoln uttered a great truth when he declared, in 1858, that, "This government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. . . . It will become all one thing or all the other." An overwhelming electoral defeat proved to the Southern states that they could not in the Union extend their peculiar labor system beyond their own borders. Inside their own borders they believed that system in danger. Eleven states asserted that they had a right to secede, passed enactments seceding from the Union, and formed a political association under the name of the Confederate States of America.

The corner-stone of the new state edifice was slavery. The eleven states had seceded in order to extend, or at least perpetuate, slavery. The great majority of the other states regarded secession as a crime and took up arms to maintain the Union. The seceded states took up arms to vindicate their right of secession. Slavery had brought on the armed conflict, but the perpetuity or dissolution of the American Union was the vital issue.

The first gun was fired when Fort Sumter, off Charleston, South Carolina, was attacked by the Confederate General Beauregard, on April 12, 1861. The surrender of the Confederate General Lee to General Grant took place at Appomattox Court House, in Virginia, on April 9, 1865. These two events mark the armed beginning and conclusion of a civil war which, as to the number of soldiers engaged, the number of battles fought, and the cost of the struggle, is unequaled in history. To maintain the Union the Federal government brought into the field 2,778,304 soldiers. To overthrow the Union the Confederate government brought into the field nearly 1,000,000. Altogether in that four years' agony there were 2265 engagements, ranging from petty skirmishes between handfuls of men up to pitched battles

lasting for days and fought with ferocious determination between hundreds of thousands. More than 360,000 Federal soldiers fell in battle or died of wounds or disease. The Federal debt at the conclusion of the struggle had swollen to $2,808,549,437.55. The entire cost to the victorious party is commonly reckoned at $8,000,000,000, figures so vast that they baffle realization. "Never in the same space of time has there been a material expenditure so great."

The arbitrament of the sword decided two questions which, with equal definiteness and permanence, could be determined in no other way. The first question concerned the American Union, the permanence of which was demonstrated and guaranteed. There was to be but one flag from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf. The second question concerned the system of human slavery, which was abolished upon the continent. Under the protection of that flag all were to be free men.

On April 14, 1865, the great-hearted president, Mr. Lincoln, was smitten down by the hand of an assassin. In his arduous office he had so borne himself as to win the respect and admiration, not only of his own country, but of the world. His murder called forth universal expressions of grief and horror.

When the war ended there was no proscription of the conquered; no court-martials or gibbets blackened the land. The survivors of the victorious and vanquished hosts returned at once to the ordinary avocations of life, and, with no shock to the body politic, devoted themselves to the pursuits of peace. But all the disorders of a four years' war could not disappear in a day. It is not strange that secession, even after it was overthrown, left the seceded states in an anomalous condition. The so-called period of reconstruction lasted for twelve years.

Most of the foreign Powers, at least their governing classes, had never believed in the stability of the American Republic. At first Europe considered the Civil War certain to result in the dissolution of the Union. Except as involving larger masses of men and spread in a wider area, it was regarded somewhat as we are

wont to look upon revolutions and commotions in the states of Central or South America. As it progressed the world looked on aghast at the proportions of the struggle, but continued incredulous of Federal success. Napoleon III and a powerful party in Great Britain wished to recognize the Southern Confederacy. Such recognition would have plunged the American government in war with Great Britain and France, at a time when its utmost resources were strained in the effort to overthrow the Confederacy. It was the statesmanship of William H. Seward, secretary of state, and the diplomacy of Mr. Adams, minister to the Court of St. James, which rescued the nation from imminent foreign peril. But they could not prevent the fitting out of the *Alabama* and of her ten sister corsairs in British ports, which swept American commerce from the sea. The final adjustment of the Alabama claims is narrated in the chapter on the British Empire.

Question of the Northwestern Boundary (1872).—The water boundary on the northwestern frontier between the United States and the British possessions was still in dispute. A group of islands, of which San Juan, "the Cronstadt of the Pacific," was the most important, formed the so-called Haro Archipelago in the waters between Vancouver Island and Washington Territory. To these islands both the United States and Great Britain laid claim. The question was submitted by the two interested parties to the German emperor for arbitration. His decision assigned the entire group to the United States.

The Centennial Exhibition (1876).—This year the United States celebrated the hundredth anniversary of independence. It was felt that in no way could that great event be more fitly honored than by an exhibition in which all the nations of the world should be invited to take part. The appropriate spot for such a gathering was the historic city in which the Declaration of Independence had been signed. With small assistance in the labor and cost on the part of the national government, the project was carried to a triumphant conclusion. The city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and some of the

thirteen original colonies were specially instrumental in its success. The exhibition was opened by President Grant. It was visited by 9,910,000 persons. There were over 30,000 exhibitors. Spain and her colonies made a more numerous display than did any other foreign state.

The Newfoundland Fisheries. The Halifax Award (1877).—The treaties with Great Britain after the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 left the rights of American fishermen off the coast of Newfoundland in a state of irritating uncertainty. Nor did subsequent efforts to adjust their grievances meet much success. The definite specifications of the Treaty of Washington (1871), it was claimed by the British government, granted greater advantages in the fisheries to the Americans than to its own subjects. It was decided that a commission of arbitration should determine the compensation which ought to be paid therefor by the United States. The two commissioners being unable to agree, the Austrian ambassador to London was invited to nominate a third member. He named the Belgian minister to the United States. Meeting at Halifax (1877) the arbitrators decided, by a vote of two to one, that the United States should pay " $5,500,000 for the use of the fishery privileges for twelve years."

The Presidential Election of 1876.—After a campaign of unusual vigor the result was disputed. Mr. Tilden, the Democratic candidate, had received a plurality in the popular vote of 250,000 over Mr. Hayes, his Republican opponent. But the election was to be decided by the votes of 369 electors, chosen by the several states. The Democratic party claimed 203 of these votes, allowing 166 to the Republicans. The Republicans claimed 185, allowing 184 to the Democrats. The four votes of Florida, the eight votes of Louisiana, and the seven votes of South Carolina were claimed by both parties. There were also difficulties as to the vote of Oregon. The Constitution provided no way for meeting the emergency of a contested presidential election. From November 7, 1876, until March 2, 1877, the whole country was in intense excitement. Any solution was preferable to civil

war. An extraordinary commission was created. It comprised five justices of the Supreme Court, five senators, and five members of the House of Representatives, and it was to decide who had been elected. The commission consisted of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. By a strict party vote and a majority of one, Mr. Hayes was declared President. The entire nation at once accepted the verdict. It had passed through the most trying crisis in its political history. No severer test could have been applied to the patriotism and the love of peace of the American people.

Assassination of President Garfield (1881).—General Garfield had been chosen to succeed President Hayes and was inaugurated March, 1881. With Mr. Blaine, the secretary of state, he was about to take a train at the Baltimore and Potomac Railway station in Washington (July 2, 1881) when he was shot down by a half-crazy politician named Guiteau. The murderer, disappointed in his hopes of securing the consul-generalship at Paris, had resolved upon this revenge. The president lingered between life and death, and in great suffering, until September 19. His unflinching patience and heroism, together with detestation of the crime, awoke profound and equal sympathy both at home and abroad.

Civil Service Reform Bill (1883).—Appointment to civil office, even in the early days of the Republic, was based largely upon the principle of reward for party service. An incoming administration, on finding lucrative and important positions in the hands of political antagonists, replaced them by its own adherents. Thus a spoils system was rapidly developed. Under it a new executive was expected, and even required, to distribute among his own adherents the offices as a sort of conquered property. Furthermore, the incumbents were heavily assessed for contributions to party expenses. Various presidents denounced the abuse, with which none seemed strong enough to cope. The National Civil Service Reform League, founded in 1881, sought to replace the spoils system by a merit system, determined by competitive examination. After much agitation, in 1883, the Civil Service Reform Bill, which had been in-

troduced by Senator Pendleton of Ohio, was passed. This act applied to more than 14,000 offices, about one-half of which were in departments at Washington, and in twenty-five specified custom offices, and the other half in twenty-three post-offices. The act also aimed at the suppression of political assessments among officers of the government.

The Bering Sea Controversy over the Seal Fisheries (1886-1898).—The United States claimed, by the purchase of Alaska, to have acquired exclusive rights in Bering Sea. To protect the fur seals, which were in danger of extermination, it seized Canadian vessels engaged in the seal fishery in those waters (1886). The controversy arising was submitted to international arbitration. The commissioners met at Paris (1893), and their decisions were in the main unfavorable to the contention of the United States. But they unanimously prescribed regulations which, if enforced by the governments of the United States and Great Britain, would have been sufficient to prevent the extinction of a valuable industry. In 1894 the Canadian sealers agreed to accept $425,000 in full settlement of their claims against the United States, but this did not end the dispute.

Trouble with Chile (1891-1892).—In the Chilean civil war (1891), which ended with the overthrow and suicide of President Balmaceda, the American minister had shown an injudicious and active sympathy for the defeated party. Afterwards he had afforded them an asylum at his legation and extended them his protection on their endeavor to leave the country. The Chilean authorities complained at this interference with their domestic affairs, but could obtain no redress from Washington. Soon afterwards some sailors of the American man-of-war, *Baltimore,* on landing at Valparaiso, were attacked by a mob. Two sailors were killed and eighteen wounded. When satisfaction was demanded, the Chilean minister of foreign affairs, Señor Matta, gave an insulting reply. The next month he fell from office. His successor instructed the Chilean minister at Washington to make an ample apology. Soon afterwards he requested the recall of the American minister, Mr. Egan,

as a persona non grata. The American government was dissatisfied with the investigation of the murder of the sailors, refused to withdraw Mr. Egan, sent Chile an ultimatum, and prepared for war. On January 23, 1892, President Harrison communicated a lengthy message to Congress, wherein he narrated the whole controversy in detail. On that same day, before the dispatch of the presidential message, a humble and comprehensive apology was on its way from Chile, which prevented any further hostile demonstration.

The Columbian Exhibition (1893).—America was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492. The American government and people determined that the 400th anniversary of that event should be celebrated in a manner commensurate with its magnitude. It was decided to request all mankind to participate in a commemorative world's fair, to be held at Chicago, the metropolis of the northwest. In pursuance of an act of Congress, approved on April 25, 1890, the President issued his official proclamation (December 24), inviting all nations to coöperate in the celebration. With splendid military and civil ceremonies the grounds and buildings were dedicated to the grand undertaking in October, 1892.

An international review, preliminary to the formal opening, was held in New York harbor (April 27, 1893). Spanish warships towed facsimiles of Columbus' vessels, the *Santa Maria, Nina,* and *Pinta,* and in the pageant the warships of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, and other nations took part. On the next day seamen and soldiers from the foreign men-of-war, in imposing parade, marched through the streets of New York.

On Monday, May 1, President Cleveland, attended by the vice-president and cabinet, opened the Exhibition at Chicago. The convocation was not limited to the visible and material. There was no branch of human thought and activity which was not represented by international congresses convened. Ninety-five special committees watched over the general divisions of the purely intellectual departments and appointed advisory councils for each. It was a world's parliament as much

as a world's exhibition. Before it closed, on October 30, 1893, it had been visited by over 24,000,000 people. "Stupendous in conception and admirable in execution," nothing like it had ever been presented to mankind.

The Venezuela Message (December 17, 1895).—A boundary dispute had long been going on between Great Britain and Venezuela. The latter country asserted that the former had encroached upon her territory and was arbitrarily advancing the boundary of British Guiana to her own advantage. It was believed in the United States that Great Britain was trampling upon the rights of a weak South American state. In a dispatch to the British government (July 20, 1895), Mr. Olney, the American secretary of state, had recapitulated the points at issue and asked for a definite answer as to whether the British government would submit the Venezuelan boundary question in its entirety to impartial arbitration. He added, in conclusion, that a reply in the negative would contribute to embarrass the future relations of the United States and Great Britain.

The answer of Lord Salisbury, the prime minister (November 26), was a general denial of the Monroe doctrine as a part of international law. Furthermore, he asserted that, even were it to be regarded, that doctrine had no application to the case. He concluded by firmly refusing to even entertain the idea of arbitration.

In consequence of this definite reply, President Cleveland (December 17) sent a special message to Congress. He expressed his deep disappointment that Great Britain persisted in her determination not to submit the matter to arbitration. He declared it incumbent on the United States, by investigation, to determine "the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana." Then, after having once ascertained what of right belonged to Venezuela, he declared that it would be "the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power" any aggression upon, or appropriation of the lands of that state. This was a strongly worded and a significant document. It was received with applause and approval in Congress, but

popular sentiment was divided. Many supposed that Great Britain would fight rather than yield. In January, 1896, in accordance with his message, President Cleveland appointed a boundary commission to investigate and determine the true frontier. However, before this commission reported, Lord Salisbury had abandoned his former attitude and consented to a treaty of arbitration between Venezuela and Great Britain. This treaty was finally ratified on June 15, 1897. All for which the American government had contended was attained.

Annexation of Hawaii (1898).—A revolution in the Sandwich Islands, or Hawaii, dethroned Queen Liliuokalani (January 16, 1893). At the request of the provisional government, the American minister landed a body of marines and proclaimed a protectorate of the United States over the islands (February 1). President Harrison strongly advocated their annexation, but the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate could not be obtained. Mr. Cleveland, who soon again became president, opposed the measure throughout his entire term. With the advent to power of President McKinley the annexationists, both in Hawaii and the United States, redoubled their efforts. They were strongly supported by Mr. Dole, the Hawaiian president. The war with Spain, when Americans were compelled to fight in the far Pacific, showed still more clearly the importance of those islands to the United States. This time a two-thirds vote in both Houses approved annexation, and the bill was signed by President McKinley (July 7, 1898). Five years of delay had only increased the desire for their acquisition. The accomplished fact was received with general favor in both countries. On August 16 the Hawaiian flag was lowered from the official staff in Honolulu and the Stars and Stripes took its place.

War with Spain (1898).—It was unfortunate for Spanish supremacy that Cuba was hardly more than 130 miles distant from the United States. The contrast was presented close at hand of two forms of administration, the direct opposite of each other. On the mainland self-government by the people afforded material prosperity and security of life and fortune. On the island a

despotic and corrupt colonial system ignored local interests and sought only the advantage of Spain, remote on the other side of the ocean. Neither civil, political, nor religious liberty existed in Cuba. The Cubans were excluded from the public offices, which were filled by Spaniards, and oppressed by a heavy taxation to support the army and navy which held them in subjection. Their discontent grew more sullen through generations. They did not wish to become Americans, but it was natural in the misery of their condition that they desired to possess and exercise some of the natural rights which their American neighbors enjoyed.

During the nineteenth century they made many conspiracies and insurrections. After Spain overthrew her Bourbon monarchy, in 1868, the Cubans at Manzanillo made a declaration of independence. Most of the South American states recognized them as belligerents. Spain was able to put down this movement only by sending to the island 150,000 soldiers under her ablest commanders. The suppression of this rebellion required twelve years. While it went on, trade decreased, agriculture was neglected, but the taxes were more than doubled.

During the period of partial tranquillity that ensued various measures of relief were proposed by the Spanish government. But as to enforcement they remained a dead letter. Slavery, however, was abolished in 1886.

The last insurrection assumed alarming proportions in 1894. The insurgents husbanded their strength. Avoiding pitched battles, they devastated the country and cut off Spanish detachments wherever they could. The reprisals of both parties were merciless. A reign of terror prevailed except in the larger and garrisoned towns. Sugar and tobacco were the two chief Cuban products. Incendiarism ruined the sugar cultivation in 1896. A decree of the Cortes (May 12, 1896) forbade the exportation of the tobacco leaf except to Spain. Tobacco leaf exports, over 30,000,000 pounds in 1895, shrank to half that amount in 1896. Thus the fairest island in the New World was rapidly relapsing into savagery and becoming a desert. Marshal Campos was

dispatched with large forces to reënforce the Spanish armies and restore order (April 2, 1895). General Weyler was sent to supersede him ten months later, but was in turn replaced by General Blanco in October, 1897. The latter came with a proposition of autonomy for the island. All the while a procession of warships was steaming across the ocean, bringing arms and ammunition and men. But the insurrection was not put down. Instead of showing weakness it developed strength.

An American instinctively sympathizes with any people fighting against oppression and for freedom. Sympathy for the Cubans was expressed, as it had been many times before, in party platforms, at public meetings, in the press and pulpit, and on the floor of Congress. With expense and difficulty the American government sought through the nineteenth century to enforce its neutrality laws. When general excitement prevails, this task is always difficult, even for a limited time. But when the disturbing causes are permanent and without alleviation, its performance becomes well-nigh impossible. Moreover, in such abnormal condition of affairs, a nation, so intimately involved in both its material and moral interests as the United States, has not only responsibilities to a foreign government, but duties to its own people and itself.

The American people did not wish for war; the desire, formerly existing for the annexation of Cuba, had died away. But they were resolved that the horrors in Cuba should cease.

None the less, President Cleveland and his successor, President McKinley, strictly observed their international obligations. A proclamation of warning was issued (June 12, 1895) to Cuban filibusters, and several men were arrested and lodged in jail. Another proclamation enforced neutrality (August, 1896). During that year the revenue officers captured seven filibusters and intercepted two expeditions. Many state conventions and legislatures in 1895 demanded that the Cubans should be recognized as belligerents. Resolutions to that effect passed the Senate by sixty-four votes to six and the House by 244 to twenty-seven (April, 1896). Such rec-

ognition to become effective required the assent of the chief magistrate, who withheld his approval. President McKinley, in 1897 and 1898, steadfastly opposed recognition of the independence of Cuba. But Spain was incensed at the persistence of the insurgents, at the impossibility of reducing them to subjection, and at the sympathy shown both them and the starving reconcentrados, or non-combatants, by the American people. Every communication from the American government was received with ill-disguised distrust and aversion.

To the mounting wave of popular sentiment, which seemed likely to sweep everything before it, two important events gave added volume. The first was of diplomatic gravity. A letter was written by Señor Dupuy de Lome, Spanish minister at Washington, which not only referred with insulting terms to the American chief magistrate, but contained an intimation that Spain was not acting in good faith and was seeking, by trickery in her negotiations, to deceive the United States. This letter fell into the hands of the Cuban insurgents and was published (February 8, 1898). Señor de Lome resigned, but he had caused every subsequent act of his government to be regarded with suspicion. This incident was trivial compared with an awful tragedy that came a little later. On February 15, the American battleship *Maine,* while at anchor in the harbor of Havana, was destroyed by an explosion. More than 250 officers and sailors were instantly killed. The American court of inquiry were of opinion that a submarine mine caused the catastrophe. But whether discharged by accident or design and, in the latter case, by whom, is unknown.

In view of possible contingencies the House of Representatives, by a unanimous vote, placed $50,000,000 at the unqualified disposal of the President as a special fund for national defense (March 8). The Senate on the following day unanimously approved the same. After long delay, which contrasted strongly with the feverish impatience of the people, President McKinley sent an elaborate message on Cuban affairs to Congress (April 11). Temperate but firm in tone, it asked authority for the President to terminate hostilities between Spain and

DESTRUCTION OF CERVERA'S FLEET BY THE AMERICAN WARSHIPS IN THE BATTLE OF SANTIAGO JULY 3, 1898

The Oregon Chasing the Cristobal Colon

Cuba and to secure tranquillity to the tormented island. On April 19 both Houses recognized Cuban independence, invited Spain to withdraw her land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directed the President to employ the forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect. The next day an ultimatum was cabled to Madrid. Without waiting for its reception, the Spanish cabinet informed the American minister, General Woodford, that Spain regarded the action already taken by the United States as a declaration of war.

The war thus began on April 21. On July 26, through M. Cambon, French ambassador at Washington, Spain opened negotiations for peace. The conflict had then lasted only ninety-six days. Its continuance had been an unbroken succession of calamities for Spain. To an American it is rendered memorable by the victory of Commodore Dewey in Manila Bay (May 1), when the fleet of Admiral Montojo was destroyed, by the annihilation of the squadron of Admiral Cervera off Santiago harbor (July 3), by the surrender of the city of Santiago and of the adjacent district with all the troops and munitions of war (July 17), and by the capture of a large portion of Porto Rico (July 25-August 11).

The peace protocol was signed (August 12) by Mr. Day, American secretary of state, and M. Cambon, French ambassador, in behalf of Spain. Spain had been utterly crushed, and was hopeless. Neither had she received real friendship from a single European nation in the hour of her necessity and distress. By the terms of the protocol she was to abandon all her transatlantic possessions and withdraw from the New World. The control, disposition, and government of the Philippines were to be determined at the conclusion of the definite treaty of peace. A suspension of hostilities was immediately ordered. But on the next day, before the news could reach them, the American forces in the Philippines attacked and captured the city of Manila.

This war was far more than a mere armed struggle between two peoples. However long delayed, the conflict was sure to come between the democratic spirit of Amer-

ica and the mediæval spirit of Spain. The continent was not broad enough for the permanent continuance of two so antagonistic systems face to face. When the two systems clashed in battle, no doubt was possible as to the ultimate outcome.

Treaty of Paris.—On October 1, commissioners representing both nations met at Paris to draw up the definite treaty. This they signed on December 10. Spain relinquished all sovereignty over Cuba, and ceded to the United States Porto Rico and all her other possessions in the West Indies, the island of Guam in the Ladrones, and the archipelago of the Philippines. For the latter group the United States were to pay $20,000,000. With generosity rare on the part of a victorious nation, the United States demanded no pecuniary indemnity from their vanquished antagonist. The Senate approved the treaty by a vote of 57 to 27 (February 6, 1899); it was signed by the President six days afterward, and the ratifications were exchanged on April 11.

American Colonial Achievements.—Since then, Porto Rico, and the Philippines have been administered by the United States, and Cuba aided materially in solving her problems of government. A civil government was provided for Porto Rico, by act of Congress (April, 1900), under which Hon. Charles H. Allen was appointed governor for a term of four years. In some of the Philippine Islands a part of the inhabitants, under the Tagal leader, Aguinaldo, for many months carried on an armed insurrection against American authority. Congress having made no provision for the administration of these islands, they were held directly subject to the military control of the President. On February 6, 1900, President McKinley appointed Judge William H. Taft head of a Philippine commission to establish a civil government. This was successfully accomplished. The presidential election of 1900 turned very largely upon the colonial policy of the administration, which was bitterly denounced as imperialistic by many Americans. However, Mr. McKinley was reëlected by the largest popular vote and largest electoral majority ever received by a presidential candidate up to that time.

The twelfth general census, taken in 1900, showed the population of the United States—irrespective of insular possessions—to be 76,295,220, a gain of 20.96 per cent over the census of 1890. The material prosperity of the country as evinced in its manufactures and productions, in the volume of its imports and exports, and in its accumulated wealth, had increased in even greater degree. So, too, had those social and educational forces which contribute to the advance of a nation's moral and intellectual life.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE MOMENTOUS CHANGES OF A DECADE

Significance of the Period.—The first decade of the twentieth century witnessed some radical changes in the political, economic, and social systems of the world. The history of the human family in its development during this period was characterized largely by a growing realization of human brotherhood, by many scientific and humanitarian achievements, and by the great progress of social and economic reform. It was characterized also by the spread of education and the advance of liberal ideas in politics, sociology, and economics. It was marked by widespread and ever-increasing demand for universal peace. As a first step in this direction the peoples of the world are calling for a better understanding with neighbor nations and the curtailing, if not the decrease, of armaments of war. This period also saw the great increase of popular participation in government, the amazing growth of the Socialist movement, the triumphant advance of feminism, and steady progress in science and invention. It has been since 1900 that man learned to fly, and the triumphs and tragedies of aviation have become almost a commonplace of the daily news. Wireless telegraphy has added one more chapter to the story of man's annihilation of time and space, and great strides have been made in sanitary science. Complete political revolutions in Turkey, Portugal, China, and Mexico, the beginnings of a progressive revolutionary movement in Russia, and the separation of Norway and Sweden have effected tremendous changes in world relations. The idea of general arbitration has grown so that the machinery now

set up at The Hague for the settlement of international disputes is efficient for all except the gravest national disagreements, and the sentiment in favor of submitting all differences between nations to arbitration is securing more and more adherents. During the twelve years just past there has been one great war, that between Japan and Russia, and, as these lines are written, a conflict is being waged between Turkey and Italy. In both cases, however, the friends of universal peace were instrumental in preventing a repetition of many of the horrors of former wars, and, in the case of the Russo-Japanese conflict, it was an American President, Theodore Roosevelt, who must be credited with initiating the peace negotiations.

The Political Changes of a Decade.—When the twentieth century opened, the political, social, and economic outlook of the world was very different from the vista which faces us in the year 1912. Many of what we are now accustomed to regard as highly important happenings of modern history had not yet taken place, and an almost equal number of tendencies and habits of thought had not become visible. In Europe many of the solid triumphs of liberalism had not been achieved. We are as yet too near the events of this first decade of the century to have set ourselves in the proper relation to them.

It was before the Russo-Japanese War had liberated the political thought of Asia and let loose the forces of reform in the Tsar's own empire. Norway and Sweden were still under one ruler, and the court of Denmark was presided over by the grandfather of her present king. Great Britain had not yet ended her conflict with the Boers in South Africa, and it was long before the days of the reform legislation of David Lloyd-George. Victoria the Good was on the throne and George V was regarded as a mere stripling. The Germans had not even begun their attempts to assert the truly representative character of their national parliament, and their Socialist vote had not reached the point where it made even the Kaiser pause. France was yet in the mire of the Dreyfus affair, and the separation of Church and

State was some years distant. In Belgium the much-berated Leopold ruled and still held the Congo "Free State" and oppressed its inhabitants. Spain had not begun to question the authority of the Roman Church in her public affairs, and her young and untried king, as yet without the influence of his English wife, was an uncertain factor in her progress. Portugal suffered under the Braganzas and scarcely dreamed of a republic. Italy, still smarting under the check to her colonial ambitions administered by the Abyssinians at Adowa, was a long way from Tripoli. The wretched Ottomans of varying creed and race still groaned under the atrocious despotism of Abdul Hamid, and the Young Turk party was but a name. In the Balkans, Bosnia and Herzegovina still belonged nominally to Turkey, and Austria's career of southeastern expansion had not begun. Bulgaria acknowledged the suzerainty of the Turk and Montenegro was a princedom.

In Asia the teeming millions knew not the republican idea and the forces of regeneration were apparently dumb. Persia, for more than a generation buffeted between England and Russia, had not yet attempted to stand on her own feet, and the idea of a parliament or an American financial advisor for the land of Iran would have been considered chimerical indeed. China still bore the cynical autocracy of the Manchu, which was beginning to be tempered by such protests as the Boxer uprising. Japan had not, by the valor of her soldiers, the brains of her statesmen, and the excellence of her munitions of war, won her right to be civilized in the Western sense. The Australian Commonwealth began its official existence on the first day of the century. In Africa Morocco was still marked as independent, and it was in the days before Germany challenged France at Algeciras. The new Union of South Africa had not been born. Canada, under Sir Wilfrid Laurier's premiership, had only begun to assert her nationhood. General Diaz ruled Mexico with an iron hand. Panama was a department of the Colombian Republic and the great waterway to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans was scarcely begun. In the United States William McKin-

ley was President and the names of William H. Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson had not assumed national proportions. The idea of an international tribune set up at The Hague had not yet filled the minds of people, and the North and South Poles awaited the daring and science of Peary and Amundsen.

The Ever-Shrinking Earth.—When the twentieth century was ushered in there was comparatively little of the earth's surface that had not been explored by the white man. Since the century began certain hitherto inaccessible regions have been visited and their secrets laid bare. French scientists have traversed all the wilds of the Sahara, and central Africa has rapidly become a part of our known geography. British and Swedish explorers have penetrated inhospitable Tibet, and American hunters and adventurers are opening up central South America. The two most important achievements in the exploration record of the century just begun are the attainment of the North and South Poles by Peary and Amundsen. The story of North polar exploration is a long and stirring one, and includes the honorable names of many. Peary's indomitable courage won him the goal. On April 6, 1909, he attained the northernmost point of our planet. More than two years after this American naval commander and explorer had reached the North Pole, Captain Roald Amundsen, the Norwegian navigator of the North West Passage, set foot on the point known as 90 degrees south latitude—the geographical South Pole (on December 14-17, 1911). Both expeditions made scientific investigations that are expected to result in useful contributions to the sum of human knowledge.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE FIRST DECADE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

End of the Boer War, 1902.—When the twentieth century opened Great Britain was still engaged in her struggle to subdue the South African Boers. During the latter half of the preceding year the tide had begun to set against the heroic Afrikanders. Their cities of Bloemfontein and Pretoria had been occupied and the republics annexed, but the Boers continued to fight with a vigor that not only taxed British resources, but excited admiration almost to the point of open assistance from the continental European powers.

It was the first war Britain had waged with a white people for nearly half a century. The country was divided in opinion, and violent discussion took place in Parliament. The Unionists generally believed the war to be just and necessary. Liberal opinion was divided. The moderate Liberals, headed by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, were in the majority. Suddenly, in the midst of the discussion, Lord Salisbury dissolved Parliament, in September, 1900. At the election which followed, the Unionists were returned by an undiminished majority. The war was prosecuted, but it was not until April, 1902, that peace was concluded. The Treaty of Vereeniging, while recognizing British supremacy, made many concessions to the Boer spirit of nationality, their language, and local autonomy. In addition it brought about an increase of taxation and added many millions to the national debt.

Splendid Reign of Victoria Ended.—Queen Victoria died on January 22, 1901. As has already been recalled in the preceding chapter, the Victorian era left a deeply marked impression on British history. During that period the population of the empire had more than doubled, the wealth had increased by 300 per cent., and the trade was sixfold greater than at the beginning. There was also a vast expansion of the empire's limits. When Victoria died one square mile in every four

of the land of the globe was under the British flag. One out of every five human beings was a subject of the British monarch. It had been a period of great industrial, economic, political, literary, and scientific development.

Reign of Edward VII Begins.—The Prince of Wales succeeded as Edward VII, being crowned in the August following his accession. His reign opened propitiously. South Africa had begun to settle down. In domestic, foreign, and international affairs the new monarch soon acquired the title of Edward the Peacemaker. By his conciliatory disposition and the suave and kindly diplomacy that was part of his character, he did much to smooth the road of the British government and people during his reign. Although Great Britain in modern times is a republic in fact, and the king only a pleasing figurehead with far less actual power in government than the President of the United States, it may be truthfully said that Edward VII made the crown more useful and popular with the British people. Almost at the moment of his accession Lord Salisbury resigned the premiership and Mr. Arthur J. Balfour succeeded him. In the next session of Parliament important educational and other domestic matters were discussed. The most noteworthy legislative achievement of the Parliament, however, was the Irish Land Act of 1903, the government purchasing land and selling it in small lots to peasant farmers on long-term payments. Under this law, one of the most far-reaching in its effect of any British legislation for one hundred years, Ireland is rapidly becoming a country of small freeholders and her economic prosperity is steadily increasing. At the same time an intellectual revival was in process and the demand for Home Rule had not diminished. During Mr. Balfour's ministry the army was reorganized and a Committee of Imperial Defense under the presidency of the Prime Minister was created. Then also began the radical increase in the appropriations for the navy, in rivalry of Germany, which have been such a characteristic feature of Britain's governmental policies during the past decade. The newly invented "Dreadnought"

type of ship became the model, not only for the British navy, but for the navies of the continent.

Mr. Chamberlain's radical speech in 1903 demanding colonial preference (tariff concessions between the various parts of the British Empire as a means of binding them closer together) resulted in the rending of the Unionist party. The colonies did not take kindly to the idea, and although Canada granted a preference to British goods, and other colonies subsequently did the same, none of them allowed free entry. Premier Balfour did not agree with Mr. Chamberlain and would not hear of any tariff change being made during the session. This phase of the tariff reform question made ravages in the two historic parties. In September, 1903, after a great deal of discussion, the storm burst. Mr. Chamberlain and the Duke of Devonshire resigned. Two exchancellors, Mr. Goschen and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, opposed the Chamberlain program. Winston Churchill and some other prominent Unionists joined the Liberal party. This brought about a reconstruction of the cabinet. The ministry held on for two years more. Then under a storm of popular indignation aroused by the employment of Chinese coolies in the Transvaal mines under conditions of virtual slave labor, Mr. Balfour resigned office in November, 1905. Despite his undoubted parliamentary skill, the success of the ministry remained not with the premier, but with Lord Lansdowne, to the credit of whose skillful diplomacy must be accorded the Japanese Alliance and the Anglo-French Entente Cordiale.

Liberal Ministry of Campbell-Bannerman.—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, leader of the moderate Liberals, succeeded Mr. Balfour. The general election of 1906 resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Liberals and their allies, the Laborites and the Irish Unionists. The most significant feature was the return of twenty-nine members of the Independent Labor party. Its leaders, notably Mr. Keir Hardie, soon won general respect by their ability and sincerity. This period marks the close of the Unionist domination and Imperialistic expansion.

It may be said to have been the end of the era of Chamberlain and Kipling.

South Africa claimed the early attention of the cabinet. Full self-government was granted to the Transvaal and the Orange River colonies, and a law was passed prohibiting the future introduction of Chinese labor into South Africa. This progressive legislation was followed (September 20, 1909) by the combination of the Transvaal, the Orange River colony, Cape Colony, and Natal into the Union of South Africa, an agreement ratified by the provinces themselves on May 31 of the following year. General Botha became head of the first Union cabinet.

The Liberal coalition succeeded in carrying out many of the features of their promised program, but it was soon perceived that the chief obstacle to the complete fulfillment of their promises, now that they were supreme in the Commons, was the obstructionist policy of the House of Lords. The Peers prevented the passage of a new educational bill. Despite their opposition, however, the ministry put through a measure which added more than 6,000,000 working men and women to those already entitled to compensation for accident. Another measure restored to the trade unions the powers of political activity which had been taken away from them by the celebrated Taff-Vale judgment. The third important enactment approved the feeding of poor school children out of the funds of taxation. At the end of the session Premier Campbell-Bannerman was stricken down by paralysis.

The Asquith Ministry and the Lords.—He died in April, 1908, and King Edward called upon Mr. Herbert Henry Asquith, at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer, to form a new ministry. His place at the head of the financial department of the government was taken by Mr. David Lloyd-George, a Welshman whose name was soon destined to become famous in British legislative annals. During the parliamentary session of 1908 legislation was enacted providing for old age pensions at the age of seventy and protecting child life. A number of obstinate objections by the Lords to important legislation

sent up by the Commons brought to the front the question of curtailing the veto power of the Lords, which had long been a thorny problem in British domestic politics. Henceforth it became the dominant issue. The radical budget which Mr. Lloyd-George presented to Parliament on April 29, 1909, made a number of novel proposals for the taxation of land, and included other features which the Lords maintained did not properly come under the head of a financial measure. This budget was formulated to provide the more than £14,000,000 required to meet the necessary expenditures for the navy, old age pensions, and other reform measures. On November 30, 1909, the Lords rejected this budget. Parliament was then dissolved and upon the double issue of the budget and the veto the Asquith Ministry went before the people. The ministers personally appealed to the electors and informed them that the king himself would be asked for guarantees that the measures deliberately adopted by the elected chamber should be carried into law. In the balloting, although the Unionists won back the south of England and made a gain of one hundred seats, on the whole, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and the north of England stood back of the government. With the support of the Irish Nationalists and the Laborites, the government coalition had a majority of 122 votes, which was taken as a popular mandate to pass the budget and limit the veto power of the peers. The budget was immediately sent back to the upper house unchanged, and the peers, recognizing the popular will, accepted it. The government then presented its policy with regard to the upper chamber in the form of three resolutions; the first abolishing the veto on finance; the second limiting the validity of the veto on any measures to two years; the third reducing the life of Parliament from seven to five years. Meanwhile, the House of Lords, on motion of Lord Rosebery, passed resolutions of its own to reform its constitution. Then suddenly King Edward died (May 6, 1910). A truce followed, and some weeks of conference until after the accession of his son, as George V. In November it was announced that the con-

ference had failed. Parliament was dissolved again. The Unionist party offered a plan for reorganizing the upper chamber and settling disputed questions by a referendum of the country. The result of the balloting (in December, 1910) was that the government was confirmed in power by the same majority.

The second Parliament of George V assembled on January 31, 1911. The government coalition (Liberals, 271; Laborites, 43; Irish Nationalists, 84) numbered 398 votes against a united opposition of 272. The government's bill to limit the veto power of the Lords was reintroduced in the Commons in its original form. The measure passed its first reading the following day, and its third reading without fundamental change on May 15, by a vote of 362 to 241. After one of the most hotly contested campaigns of discussion in recent British history, during which the Lords amended the bill, the government, by a substantial vote, rejected the Lords' amendment, and the peers passed a vote of censure on the government, the bill came back a third time to the upper house, confronting the peers with the alternative of repudiating their own amendment or of forcing the creation by the king of from 300 to 400 peers. In the last hours the Unionist journals and leaders counseled the Lords to surrender, and on August 10, by a majority of 17, in a total vote of 245, with more than 300 peers refusing to vote, the veto bill passed the Lords. Eight days later (August 18, 1911), by royal assent, there was added to England's constitutional law the most momentous piece of legislation since the great Reform Bill of 1832.

The result has not been to impair the usefulness of the House of Lords. That chamber still maintains its integrity, although, by the will of the people, it has been deprived of some of its powers. The peers can still retard objectionable and emotional legislation for two years. They can still, if they will, exert a wholesome check on the House of Commons. The practical effect of the change made in the British constitution by the new bill is to give the final decision in all matters of legislation to the Commons.

The National Insurance Bill.—The rapidity with which England is becoming, not only democratized but socialized, is evident from the social reform achievements of the Asquith Ministry, due largely to the championship of David Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The most important accomplishments of the Parliament which was prorogued on December 16, 1911, were the bill curtailing the veto powers of the House of Lords, which has already been noted, and what has come to be known as Lloyd-George's National Insurance Bill. This "Magna Charta of the Poor" following upon the passage of the old age pension act (1909) was the second great legislative measure intended to grapple with what Carlyle used to call the "condition of England question." The old age pensions act secures for every needy man and woman, after their seventieth year, a pension of 5s. ($1.25) a week. These pensions cost the nation $65,000,000 a year. The national insurance bill, unlike the old age pension, is on a contributory basis. It is intended to compel workers and employers to coöperate in a great insurance scheme for the benefit of the workingman. According to its provisions the workingman, the employer, and the state all contribute to a fund in return for which workingmen and women get free medical attendance when they are ill, and if permanently incapacitated from earning a living for themselves, a benefit until they are seventy years of age, when the old age pension begins to operate. In addition there is a maternity benefit for women and a special provision for the cure of consumptives. This law went into effect on the fifteenth of July, 1912. In addition to these measures the Asquith Ministry brought in and is (summer of 1912) carrying out into law bills extending the suffrage right in England and doing away with plural voting. During recent years the agitation for votes for women has been a burning question in England's domestic politics. In another chapter this is discussed in detail.

Home Rule for Ireland.—Irish Home Rule was one of the much discussed topics of domestic politics in England during Mr. Asquith's ministry. After repeated

indications from the electorate that the British public, if not in sympathy with, at least was not opposed to the granting of autonomy to Ireland, the splendid parliamentary discipline of the Irish Nationalist members under the leadership of Mr. John Redmond, made it possible to bring in the third Home Rule bill on April 11, 1911. This provided for a two-chambered Irish parliament with power to make laws for peace, order, and government in Ireland. The local legislature was not to have control of imperial matters, army and navy affairs, the Irish land purchase, old age pensions, national insurance acts, the Irish constabulary, post-office savings banks, or public loans and general customs. The bill made provision for the protection of religious equality in Ireland. It also declared that upon its enactment into law the Irish representation at Westminster in the Imperial Parliament was to be 42 members, one for every 100,000 population. The granting of Home Rule to Ireland is assumed by Englishmen generally to foreshadow the eventual success of the policy known as devolution, that is, the establishment of local self-government for all portions of the British Empire. Home Rule for Ireland was expected to receive the sanction of law by the autumn Parliamentary session of 1912.

The Great Coal Strike. A Minimum Wage Law.—The extent to which labor questions have come to the fore in England and affected not only the well-being of all Britons, but the very existence of the empire itself, was shown by the great coal strike which was precipitated on March 1, 1912, after the refusal of the mine owners to accede to the demands of the workmen for the establishment of a minimum wage scale and the general improvement of working conditions. In modern life coal is the life blood of the world's industry and of commerce and it means so much in the preservation of our highly articulated modern life that in no other industry could organized labor have so easily and quickly demonstrated its power. The British nation almost literally lives from hand to mouth, depending absolutely for its supplies upon uninterrupted communication with the rest of the world. Before the strike was declared, Premier Asquith,

appreciating the magnitude of the menace, held a conference with the miners and mine owners endeavoring to bring about a settlement, but without success. A hundred thousand mine workers, men, women, and children, laid down their tools on the night of February 29, and within the week four times that number had been thrown out of work by the closing of the mills which depended on steam for their operation. Entire industries shut down, soon the nation began to feel the pinch of hunger, and Britain's world position was threatened because her warships lacked fuel. Finally the dockers and other transportation workers struck in sympathy with the miners. The men demanded a minimum wage and sixty-five per cent of the mine owners in England and North Wales agreed. The government recognized the justice of this principle, and the ministry introduced into Parliament a minimum wage bill and secured its enactment into law (March 29). Later demands were made for the establishment of a minimum wage law for other industries.

Britain's Lesson to Europe.—A number of pressing international problems in which Britain is concerned have recently progressed a long way towards settlement. The naval rivalry with Germany remains. All parties in Britain, however, approve the Japanese alliance and the Triple Entente—the understanding with France and Russia—both advocate unconditional arbitration agreement with the United States, and both agree upon the need for a supreme navy. The keynote of the comment upon the trip of King George and Queen Mary to India to be crowned at the magnificent Durbar which took place in 1911, was that Britain is not considering the increase or decrease of her empire. Her problem to-day is to defend, develop, and consolidate her vast domain. The Colonial Conference has now become the Imperial Conference, and the Dominions participate more and more in systematic consultation with the Imperial government upon matters of common concern.

During the nineteenth century, says the eminent historian, Seignobos, England served as the political model for Europe. " The English people developed the po-

litical mechanism of modern Europe—constitutional monarchy, parliamentary government, and safeguards for personal liberty. The other nations have only imitated her." In England almost all reforms, religious, parliamentary, industrial, have come about gradually and as a result of compromise. "Thus Great Britain has escaped the seesaw of revolution and reaction, and each step in advance has been permanent."

Canada becomes a Nation.—Canada, the vast American dominion of Britain, with an area approximately equal to that of the United States, and a population of 9,000,000, rapidly increasing in the opening decade of the century, is one of the most important lands under the British flag.

All the Canadian colonies were federated in 1867. By the act of Parliament of that year there resulted, in 1873, a federal union of all British North America—excepting Newfoundland—under the name of the Dominion of Canada. The new commonwealth had a parliamentary government with a responsible ministry.

At the time of the federation the scattered settlements west of the Rocky Mountains were isolated from the east, even from Manitoba. It was the achievement of Sir John Macdonald and the Conservative party, born the year of federation, to make Canada a nation. The Conservatives remained in power continuously until 1896, and by their policies of protection for Canadian industries, railroad building, and strengthening the idea of empire, they did create a nation.

The settlement of the Canadian west really began with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in 1886. During the year preceding a half-breed revolt under Louis Riel had been suppressed. The Liberal party advocated a lower tariff and closer commercial relations with the United States. Macdonald died in 1891, and his party could not long survive him. Five years later, the Liberals, under the leadership of that distinguished French Canadian Sir Wilfrid Laurier, came into power. The Liberals generally continued the protective system. In 1897 a step toward freer trade with the mother country was made by the granting of a "prefer-

ence,'' gradually increasing to 33 1-3 per cent, to British goods. Sir Wilfrid Laurier made several pilgrimages to Washington to secure reciprocal trade arrangements with the United States, but was coldly received. The Liberals held the reins of government uninterruptedly until September, 1911, when, as a result of the election held on the question of reciprocity with the United States, the Conservatives again came to the helm. Robert L. Borden then became premier.

The discovery of gold in the Klondike region in 1899 caused a rush to the Canadian west. Many thousands of gold seekers, chiefly Americans, flocked thither and the development of the whole Pacific slope gradually followed. The wheat-growing area was increased and Canada became one of the granaries of the world. Two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, were created out of the vast interior region between Manitoba and British Columbia. The question of separate schools based on sectarian teaching has somewhat complicated the problem of the government in Quebec and Manitoba, but the Laurier government in the early years of the century arranged a modus vivendi on this question.

The past decade has seen the gradual but complete removal of virtually every difficulty between the Dominion and her great southern neighbor, kindred of speech, institutions, and origin. The dispute over the Behring Sea seal fisheries, which arose in 1886, was finally submitted to arbitration in 1892. The next year the tribunal decided in favor of the British contention that the Behring is an open sea, and provided rules and regulations. The gold region of the far northwest gave rise to a boundary dispute between Canada and the United States as to the limits of Alaska and Canada on the Klondike. The decision of the arbitrator, in 1903, was generally in favor of the American claim. More serious and long drawn out was the fisheries dispute with Newfoundland, the other British North American colony, not part of the Dominion. This problem was referred to The Hague Tribunal in 1910. The settlement was generally in favor of the British claim, though Canada, the United States, and Great Britain each expressed

satisfaction at the award. The general Waterways Treaty of 1910 established a permanent court of conciliation for the settlement of all differences arising as to boundary waters. The campaign for reciprocity with the United States, begun by the Liberals under Laurier, received definitive settlement for a time at least by the decisive rejection of the Taft-Patterson reciprocity pact, which had been passed by the American Congress, but voted upon adversely by the Canadian electorate on September 22, 1911. The new régime at Ottawa, under Mr. Borden, who has a substantial majority in the Parliament, is loyal to the mother country, but first of all, stands for "Canada for the Canadians." The Dominion is creating its own navy and claiming a wider influence in the councils of the empire. The recent governors-general of the Dominion, appointed by the crown, have been fully in sympathy with the Canadian spirit. Earl Grey represented the king at Ottawa from 1904 to 1911. He was succeeded by the Duke of Connaught, uncle of the present king, who is the present governor-general. Canada is indeed a nation.

Ten Years of the Australian Commonwealth.—Australia was the last of the continents to be discovered and colonized. The Dutch saw its shores in the last years of the seventeenth century, but it was Captain Cook, an Englishman, who opened it and New Zealand up to the world in voyages from 1769 to 1776. The rapid development of Australia was largely due to wool growing, and to the discovery of gold in New South Wales in 1851. In 1900, after some years of negotiation, a federation of the six colonies, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, was made into the Commonwealth of Australia, under a federal government with a responsible ministry. New Zealand, a separate colony, became a Dominion in September, 1907. The problems of Australia are chiefly those connected with advanced labor legislation, the menace from Asiatic emigration, and railroad building. The census of 1906 showed a population of 4,120,000 exclusive of the aborigines. The immigration problem was settled by the prohibition of the

entrance of Pacific islanders of any nationality. The Labor Party in Australia grew up out of the labor conditions of the early settlements. The great strike in 1890 affected the entire commonwealth and began a series of political victories for the labor element which resulted in the triumph of their party in the federal elections. As a result of the ballotings of 1910 the Labor Party controls 44 votes in the Federal Parliament against an opposition of 31. Specially constituted tribunals or boards now determine the minimum rate of wages for all grades of labor. One of the first acts of the new Federal Parliament was to make a uniform tariff to supersede the six separate tariffs which had heretofore existed. In 1908 an old age pension act was passed. Baron Denman was appointed governor-general in 1910, and the Hon. Andrew Fisher became prime minister. The capital of the commonwealth, according to an agreement made when the federation was effected, was chosen in 1910, in a district near Sydney, known as Yass-Canberra. It is yet to be built on the plans drawn up by an American architect. Meanwhile the seat of the federal government has been at Melbourne.

The New Nation of South Africa.—The Union of South Africa, created by the consolidation act of 1909, began its career with a larger amount of autonomy than any other newly conquered province in the history of the world. The constitution of the South African government resembles those of Australia and Canada. The equality of the Dutch and English languages, and the free entry to positions by both nationalities, gave promise of a noble future. The problems of South Africa are those arising from the effort to completely weld two peoples, from the determining of the relations between blacks and whites, and from questions involving labor in mines. Viscount Herbert Gladstone, son of the great commoner, was the first governor, appointed May 31, 1910. General Louis Botha became first Union Premier. The employment of Hindu and Chinese coolies in the Transvaal mines provoked much indignation during Mr. Balfour's premiership in London, but was settled under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Banner-

man (1909). The first general election under the new ministry was held on September 15, 1910. The Dutch Afrikander candidates ran as Nationalists; their opponents as Unionists. The Nationalists won a majority of thirteen over all other parties. On November 4, 1910, Parliament was opened by the Duke of Connaught, representing the king. These three—Canada, Australia, and South Africa—are the larger daughters of the British Empire, perhaps less daughters than allies. Other British dominions in Asia and Africa will be considered in their proper relations to the problems of the great continents of which they form parts.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The Rise of German Naval Power.—The most striking fact of German history in the first years of the century has been her appearance as a great naval power. A few warships had been built between 1890 and 1900. It was not until the opening years of the decade 1900-1910, however, that Germany's power and opportunity in world politics were realized. Bismarck had given the new nation the military hegemony of Europe. The rapid increase of the navy, justified as it was by the vast development of German commerce and the growth of the German mercantile marine, was really due to the purpose of Kaiser Wilhelm II to play the leading part in what the Germans call Weltpolitik. The Navy League (Flottenverein) established in 1897 had the emperor for its enthusiastic patron and secured an enormous membership and popularity. The naval program authorized in 1900 launched Germany at once as a world naval power.

Out of the confidence born of this naval might the Kaiser began to demand his part in the settlement of world problems. Between 1895 and the beginning of the century he, with France and Russia, compelled Japan to forego many of the fruits of her victory over China, compelled the latter to lease a portion of her

territory to Germany, and secured a foothold in the Pacific Ocean by the purchase of the Caroline Islands from Spain. In the Near East, as well as the Far East, German influence and prestige increased rapidly. A German field marshal (Count von Waldersee) commanded the international forces that rescued Peking from the Boxers in 1900. The German emperor began at this time to exert great influence in the Near East by displaying himself as a friend of the Turkish Sultan and proclaiming himself as the protector of Mohammedans throughout the world. The quid pro quo of this was the concession to a German company of the right to continue the building of the Anatolian Railway to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. The Kaiser was beginning to justify his reputation as "the first living drummer for German goods."

The Kaiser, Bulow, and the Socialists.—Bismarck had been succeeded in the chancellorship by General Caprivi, who had loyally carried out all the orders of his imperial master. The hostility of the agrarians, or Junkers, to the Caprivi commercial treaty with Russia forced the chancellor's resignation in 1894, and he was succeeded by Prince Hohenlohe, a Liberal Bavarian Catholic and ex-governor of Alsace-Lorraine. Hohenlohe resigned in 1900, and was succeeded by Count Bernhard von Bülow, then holding the office of foreign secretary. The new chancellor was a skillful parliamentarian. He needed all his skill in the conflict of 1902 on the introduction of the new tariff. The agrarians won and the duties on corn and meat were substantially increased. Next year, however, the unpopularity of the new tariff was shown when the Socialists increased their vote to 3,000,000 and their seats in the Reichstag from 58 to 81.

Several native revolts and official corruption in the German colony of Southwest Africa cost so much blood and money that popular indignation was aroused, and in 1905 the Center, the Catholic party, combined with the Socialists to defeat the government project for a colonial railway. The chancellor dissolved the Reichstag, declared war on the Center, the Socialists, and Dernburg, the colonial minister, and issued glowing pronuncia-

mentos as to the future of the colonies. In the election of 1907 the Socialist vote increased, but owing to changes in apportionment, their representation in Parliament fell off. The Clericals, on the other hand, were returned in equal numbers. A coalition, or bloc, was formed in the Reichstag, and the government struggled along. In 1909, however, despite the floating of many loans, it was found that new taxation was needed, owing to the commercial and industrial depression of the first year of the century and because the federal constitution made it difficult to adjust the budget to the needs of the empire without disarranging the finances of the constituent states. Although the money was chiefly for their hobby, the navy, even the Conservatives rebelled. The budget was passed in a modified form, but the chancellor resigned. He was succeeded (on July 14, 1909) by Dr. Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, the present chancellor, the imperial secretary of the interior, an official of long and varied experience, but with very little knowledge of Germany's international position.

Restraining an Impulsive Monarch's Speeches.—It soon became evident that the real reason for Bülow's resignation was the difficulty of conducting the government of the empire, which is a sort of compromise between a traditionally mediæval personal government and the organization of a modern state. This difficulty was complicated by the masterful personality of the emperor, whose chief tendency, it has been said, is "to confuse his position as German emperor by the will of the German princes and the German people with his position as King of Prussia by the Grace of God." William II's impulsive speeches and telegrams had caused much anxiety at home and abroad. In 1896 he sent his famous telegram to President Kruger of the Transvaal. A series of embarrassing expressions of his personal opinion followed, culminating in 1908 in an utterance which stirred all Europe. A long interview in the London *Daily Telegraph* contained frank declarations as to what he and his people thought about England and other countries. The British were aroused, and when the Reichstag met, the leaders of all parties openly declared that such im-

prudent indiscretions must cease. Count Bülow then gave to the Parliament a somewhat indefinite promise that the emperor would refrain from personal intervention in politics. He added that in future neither he nor any other chancellor would hold office if such intervention continued. He then offered his resignation, but the Kaiser persuaded him to remain. For a year and a half following William II made no public expression of his personal views.

In 1911 two important questions engaged the attention of the Reichstag. The government had as the main features of its program the granting of autonomy to Alsace-Lorraine, and the enactment into law of its bill for workingmen's insurance. On January 28, 1911, the constitution and franchise bills for the two provinces were read for the first time in the Reichstag. They provided for universal suffrage and three votes in the Bundesrath or Federal Council. The governor was to be appointed for life by the emperor in his capacity as King of Prussia, and there was to be a two-chambered legislature. The bill encountered a good deal of opposition but was finally passed.

On the day preceding the passage of this measure, the workingmen's insurance bill, a complicated measure, designed to combine in a single law all the imperial insurance schemes, was also passed. The general provisions were extended and insurance begun for widows and orphans.

The adoption of a common legal code for all the states, members of the confederation, (1900), went a long way toward smoothing out the difficulties which had formerly arisen between the smaller states and Prussia, of which there had always been much jealousy and suspicion. In Prussia itself the burning political question is that of the franchise. According to the indirect election methods prescribed by the constitution of 1850, the voters were divided into three classes based on their income. From 1850 to 1908 the Socialists, although they polled by far the largest number of votes, had not a single seat in the Prussian Landtag. The discontent with this absurdly unfair arrangement and the popular de-

mand for change had been shown by many monster demonstrations of orderly protestants in the great cities. A bill remodeling the franchise system but retaining the three classes in modified form was passed by the Landtag in 1910. It satisfied no one, however, and was soon withdrawn. But the demand for some thoroughgoing reform is insistent.

Germanizing the Subject Peoples.—The attempts to Germanize the subject nationalities, the Poles, the Danes, and the Alsacians and Lorrainers, have constituted a grave problem and one in which, moreover, the Germanizers have not been notably successful. In the case of the Poles they have completely failed. Every effort to Prussify the Polish districts by permitting only German to be taught in the elementary schools has been defeated by the stubborn determination of the Poles to keep their language. Bismarck's colonization plan, begun in 1886, the plan of subsidized German settlements in Polish districts, has been continued by his successors at enormous cost but with little success. The popular resentment became so great in 1906 that the Polish children refused to answer questions in German and finally to attend school. These "school strikes" the government punished by fines, expulsions, imprisonment, and even public flogging. The opposition was only increased. Made desperate by its failure, in 1908, the government passed an Expropriation Bill. This empowered the Land Commission already in existence to buy whatever land it needed at its own price. Nevertheless, despite all these tyrannical methods, the Prussian Poles hold more land to-day than they did when the colonization began. A treaty with Denmark in 1907 accorded the Danes of Schleswig some measure of protection from the Prussification process.

Germany's Rapid Economic Revolution.—Since the war with France which created the empire, the German people have been passing through a social and economic revolution similar to that which Great Britain underwent during the first half of the nineteenth century, although on a greater scale and at a more rapid rate. Germany is mainly an agricultural country largely under

a feudal social order. The last two decades have seen this country changed into one of vast industries and increased population. Moreover, there has been no regulating machinery for such a change in a real representative system such as has always, in the main, existed in England. Meanwhile development along manufacturing and commercial lines has been very great. The government has manifested almost feverish activity in discovering and opening up new avenues of trade.

Since 1871 the empire has engaged in no foreign war. But not for a moment has it relaxed the policy which renders Germany, and hence all Europe, a camp of soldiers and which secures only the anxious uncertainties of an armed peace. Because of her strategic position and the acknowledged efficiency of her troops, none of the other great powers can afford to disarm until Germany does so.

It may be said that in the ten years from 1900 to 1910 the chief concerns of the foreign politics of Germany were the rivalry with England in naval power and the desire to secure colonies, or rather spheres of trade. The story of Anglo-German jealousy and suspicion is treated in another chapter.

At Potsdam, in the autumn of 1910, the German Kaiser met the Russian Tsar. The result of their exchange of views was a Russo-German convention signed the following year. Russia agreed not to oppose Germany's completion of the Bagdad Railway nor the use of foreign capital therein. She also engaged to build some Near Eastern lines herself in Persia to connect with her railroad already constructed. Germany, for her part, was not to seek any new concessions of any sort in the Russian sphere in Persia as delimited by the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907.

In May, 1911, an arrangement was made with the United States government concerning the price of potash, thus ending the difficulty with the potash syndicate which had become acute the year before.

Complexity of Austro-Hungarian Politics.—The real creation of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, as known to-day, dates from the expulsion of the house of Haps-

burg from the German confederation in 1866. In that year Hungary was confirmed in autonomy and real parliamentary institutions were granted to Austria. The relations between the two states of the Dual Monarchy were regulated by the Ausgleich agreement of 1867. Except for a few outlying districts, Austria had lost her Italian possessions and, henceforth, looked for territorial gains to the Balkan peninsula. Politically, however, the empire remained in a state of "unstable equilibrium." Two separate languages, constitutions, parliaments, and administrations, made an exceedingly complex governmental problem for Kaiser Franz Josef. Disputes over the questions of language, race, and religion rent the country. Some efforts were made to reconcile these differences. In Bohemia, however, as well as in Hungary, factional as well as racial strife was incessant.

After an heroic struggle of four years against the obstructive tactics of the Czechs, the wrangling of the Pan-German party and the clamoring of the newly formed anti-clerical group (*Los von Rom*) Dr. Körber, the premier, resigned in 1904. Under Baron Gautsch von Frankenturm, his successor, an earnest effort was made to end the conflict of race by liberalizing the terms of the franchise. The law of 1907 did away with the artificial five classes or Curiæ of voters, and bestowed the right to vote on all males of twenty-four years of age with a residential qualification. There were still some few inequalities, but in the main the new constituencies were racially homogeneous. Francis Joseph paid for the passage of this by surrendering his traditional right to override opposition in the upper house by the creation of new peers. But he also gained much personal popularity and achieved an increase of solidarity for the realm.

Hungary and the Language Question.—Twenty years of despotism from Vienna was the punishment of Hungary for her revolt in 1848. In 1866, however, a reconciliation was effected and the real duality of the empire realized. A constant struggle for such a broadening of the franchise as would give the people a voice in the

management of their affairs filled in the years till the beginning of the nineteenth century. Hungarian ministries rose and fell upon the two questions of the Ausgleich or agreement between the two states and that of the suffrage. Hungarian politicians steadily claimed the rights of their language as against German. In 1902, the Hungarian premier, Szell, made a new customs treaty with the Austrian premier, Körber. Factional differences forced Szell out of office in June. He was succeeded by Count Khuen-Hedervàry, the governor or Ban of Croatia. The Hedervàry cabinet was overthrown on September 30. Then there came an interval of confusion and obstinate refusal to proceed in parliamentary forms until October, 1903, when Count Stefan Tisza, son of the famous statesman, Koloman Tisza, came to power. When parliament was dissolved, on January 26, 1905, Tisza was defeated and the parties of Independence which were opposed to the Compromise of 1867 won a sweeping victory. The coalition demanded concessions which the emperor-king refused to grant. There were months of fruitless negotiations. Then General Baron Fejervàry, a personal friend of the king, took office without a majority. Fejervàry was the former minister of national defense and his was known as a " non-parliamentary " or " unconstitutional " cabinet. But he could make no impression on the united strength of the opposition. Then the minister of the interior, Joseph Kristoffy, as a ruse, proposed an extension of the suffrage. A universal suffrage bill with certain modifications was introduced, and a compromise reached. Dr. Wekerle took office on April 8, 1906. He was supported by most of the national leaders, including Kossuth, Apponyi, and Andrassy. Army and other changes were deferred until universal suffrage had been attained. Dr. Wekerle resigned April 27, 1906. On January 18, 1910, Count Hedervàry was again appointed.

Although constitutional government had been restored to Hungary there remained many vexatious problems. The Croatians were dissatisfied and the suffrage question was still unsettled.

Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.—Startling evidence of the fact that in Baron Ahrenthal the Dual Monarchy had a vigorous statesman of the Bismarck order was furnished by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two provinces under Turkish sovereignty but which had been handed over to Austria-Hungary by the Treaty of Berlin (1878) for "administration and military occupation."

A little diplomatic brush with Bulgaria, late in September, 1908, brought on with dramatic swiftness that set Europe on its nerves, a number of interesting developments in the subject principalities of Turkey. On October 3 Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. Almost immediately Bulgaria proclaimed her independence of Turkey, Crete declared her intention to join Greece, Servia almost launched her armies against Austria, and all the forces of Turkey and the Balkans were mobilized.

But the excitement gradually calmed down. A straining of the relations between Austria and Servia, a Turkish boycott against Austrian goods, and European diplomacy had smoothed out everything. Officially all that had happened was that, by autograph letters to the premiers of the two states, dated October 5, 1908, the sovereignty of the emperor-king had been extended over the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Austrian statesmen wished to end the anomalous situation created by the Treaty of Berlin, by incorporating Bosnia and Herzegovina into the Dual Monarchy. The treaty had contemplated the evacuation of the occupied provinces after the restoration of order and prosperity; and this had been expressly stipulated in an agreement signed by the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman plenipotentiaries at Berlin. But the Turkish reform movement of 1908 seemed to promise a revival of Ottoman power, which might in time have enabled the Turks to demand the promised evacuation, and thus to reap all the ultimate benefits of the Austrian administration. The Vienna government, profiting by the weakness of Russia after the war with Japan, and aware that the proclamation of Bulgarian independence was imminent, had al-

ready decided to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, in spite of the pledges given at Berlin, and although the proposal was unpopular in Hungary. Bosnia and Herzegovina are now administered by the Bosnian Bureau, by a common Austro-Hungarian finance minister at Vienna. The present administrator is Dr. de Bilinski, appointed February 20, 1912.

Extending the Franchise.—The Gautsch ministry, in Austria proper, from January 1, 1905, to April, 1906, was the beginning of a series of rapid-change ministries which rose and fell principally on the question of the extension of the franchise. Baron Beck, Baron von Bienerth, and the present premier, Count Karl Stuergkh (appointed November, 1911), have all faced the storm. The general elections of 1907 and 1910 resulted, in the main, in decided gains for the Social Democratic and other radical parties. The Diamond Jubilee of Emperor Francis Joseph was celebrated with impressive ceremonies in August, 1908.

LATIN EUROPE SINCE 1900

France, a Stable Republic.—French history for more than a decade has been characterized chiefly by one great moving fact, the defense of the republic against its foes from within and without. France's foreign enemies brought about the two great factors in her international relations: the colonial expansion culminating in the sharp dispute with Germany over Morocco and the contest over the question of the separation of church and state. These are developed in other chapters.

The great absorbing domestic problem of the French Republic, particularly keen since the termination of the struggle with the Church, has been that of labor and its demands.

France is one of the most highly socialized of the countries of Europe, indeed of the world. The republic is the original home of syndicalism, a later development of the struggle between labor and the so-called privi-

leged classes. The excesses of the Commune after the war with Germany tended to bring Socialism into disrepute. After the amnesty of 1879, however, when the banished Socialist leaders returned to the republic, Socialism began its remarkable advance in France. For a time it was Marxian and its leader, the fiery Jules Guèsde. Then arose the Possibilists, that is, the advocates of piecemeal reform, of whom Jean Jaurès is the chief. Trades unions were legalized in 1884. It was at this time that Jaurès and Millerand, afterwards the first Socialist member of any European cabinet, urged the understanding between the radicals and the moderate Socialists. In the election of 1893 fifty Socialists were returned to Parliament. Their number is increasing steadily. Millerand became a member of the cabinet in 1899. But the main body of the Socialist deputies, headed by Jaurès, became part of the legislative "bloc," which by allying itself alternately with other groups in the Chamber, has brought about great social and economic reforms in the republic. The Socialists aided the Combes ministry in the movement against the Church, and, in 1906, upon taking up the premiership, Clémenceau appointed a Socialist, Viviani, to the newly created ministry of labor. Then it was that the Socialist radical alliance began to weaken, and within a short time the "bloc" disintegrated.

The General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.—Confédération Générale du Travail) was founded in 1896, and a new era began in the attitude toward labor demonstrations. The general strike came into favor; syndicalism, or the theory that workers should produce for the "collectivity," was born. Then came the premiership of Briand, himself a former Socialist. Strikes continued and sabotage, or the injury to and interference with production, became prevalent. A serious strike on the railways in the summer of 1910 was finally quelled by the prime minister by calling out the strikers in their capacity as military reservists. Millerand and Viviani could not agree with Briand as to the advisability of legally prohibiting railway strikes and they resigned from the ministry. The Socialists in France support

such government measures as the old age pension, the progressive income tax, and the state purchase of railways. They also stand ready to defend secular education and republican institutions, but they now have adopted a policy more of watchful neutrality. The Waldeck-Rousseau ministry of 1902 was succeeded by that of Combes. A second Rouvier cabinet followed. There was then a brief ministry under Sarien. In October, 1906, M. Clémenceau took the reins of government. He was followed by Briand. Then there followed brief cabinet ministries under Monis and Caillaux. Early in 1912, M. Raymond Poincaré succeeded. The Caillaux cabinet fell on a charge of corrupt practices in connection with the negotiations with Germany over the Morocco question. President Loubet succeeding in 1889 to the chief magistracy of the republic upon the death of Félix Faure, filled out his constitutional term of six years, and on January 17, 1906, M. Armand Fallières was elected to succeed him. Rapid change of ministries in France has not been a sign of political instability, as has sometimes been charged, but an indication that the chamber, a popularly elected body, holds the power.

France To-day.—The Third French Republic has now been in existence more than forty years. It has thus already lasted longer than any other form of government which has arisen in France since 1789. Though in theory and practice differing much from American ideas of republicanism, it nevertheless appears to be the system most appropriate to the genius of the French character and most acceptable to the French people. For generations a French republic must be a trial of experiments. Though attended more than once with corruption and scandal in high places, the present republic has surpassed both the empire and the monarchy in official purity and honesty, and under it the public conscience has become more enlightened and hence more sensitive. Though in international questions her ablest ministers have done little more than follow in the wake of the great powers, none the less the republic has been consolidated and Frenchmen have been brought nearer each other.

Royalism and Bonaparteism are decreasing in influence. The chief problems of the republic at home are the complete nationalization of railways and other public works; electoral reform; and readjustment of taxation to meet the ever-increasing budget demand. The birth rate during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth had fallen alarmingly below the death rate, yet, measured by the efficiency of her government, the stability of her business conditions, and the intellectual capacity of her sons, the French republic in 1912 might be regarded as one of the most firmly established governments of the world.

Spain Since the War with the United States.—After the war with the United States Spain was left shorn of almost all her colonial empire. In appearance this was a disaster, but it really relieved her of a permanent source of weakness and trouble. Once free from the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Cuba, she was enabled to set her own house in order. The historic separatist tendencies of the country have been increased during recent years by the ever-widening breach between the interests of the industrial north and those of the agricultural south. The Conservative cabinet of Silvela was succeeded in 1901 by a Liberal ministry under the veteran Sagasta, who remained in power for somewhat over a year. Two great problems faced this statesman, problems which are typical of Spanish troubles for half a century: First, the spread of Socialism and the industrial unrest; second, the growth of the religious orders and congregations.

Spain has been gradually changing from a purely agricultural country to one in which industry, particularly mining and manufacturing, have an increasing influence. The factories and business houses of Catalonia, particularly of Barcelona, and the coal, iron, and precious metal mines in the northern part of the peninsula, with their headquarters at Bilbao, have been increasingly influential in Spanish progress and political problems. Spanish labor unionism has grown with remarkable strides.

Accession of Alfonso XIII.—King Alfonso XIII was crowned on May 17, 1902, with all the antique ceremonies of the Spanish court. At first, apparently, he was under reactionary influence. Soon, however, the native vigor and courage of his mind and his voracious desire to acquire knowledge and to be popular as a modern king asserted themselves, and it became evident that he had many liberal ideas. His marriage, on May 31, 1905, to an English princess, Victoria Eugenie Ena, of Battenburg, was significant. The young queen at once professed conversion to the Roman Church, and the Pope conferred upon her the unusual distinction of the golden rose. The marriage, however, came to be regarded as a Protestant, anti-clerical alliance, and marked a distinct stage in the young king's emancipation from the dictates of the reactionary, clerical court. His personal popularity increased rapidly and he displayed a disconcerting tendency to think and act for himself. He faced, during the first ten years of his reign, the usual kaleidoscopic series of changes of Spanish ministries. After the fall of Sagasta in 1898, the Conservatives, led successively by Silvela and Maura, were almost continuously in office. After the death of the veteran Liberal leader, Sagasta, none of his lieutenants commanded the allegiance of the whole party. In 1909, however, two events, occurring almost simultaneously, brought the long period of Conservative domination to an end.

Though Spain had lost her distant possessions, she retained some stretches of the coast line of Morocco. Her power extended inland only a very little way. When iron and lead were discovered near Melilla and a railway was built to the mines, the tribes revolted and workmen were massacred. The rebellion developed into a war which required the presence of more than 40,000 troops. Bullets, heat, and fever did their deadly work. The expenditure of so much blood and money on what was called a speculators' war was bitterly resented in Spain, and heart-rending scenes were witnessed at the departure of the conscripts. Then a fierce revolt suddenly broke out in Barcelona. This commercial capital of Spain, the center of Catalonia, was the focus of the anti-clerical

propaganda which characterizes the growing cities of the Spanish seaboard. A riot grew out of the departure of the conscripts for Melilla, and for several days Barcelona was cut off from the world. A number of monasteries and churches were sacked. The revolt was quelled, however, martial law was proclaimed, and Francisco Ferrer, a radical free-thinker, the founder of a network of popular schools of a more or less irreligious character, was accused of treason, and was tried by court-martial and shot (October 13, 1909). The execution of Ferrer, nominally in consequence of alleged complicity in the revolt of Barcelona, was generally regarded in Spain and the rest of Europe as due to the animosity of the Church. Whether or not it was a crime it certainly was a blunder. There was an angry explosion of anti-clericalism all over the world, and the prestige of Spain was seriously compromised. When the Chambers met, the government was fiercely assailed. Maura resigned, and the veteran Liberal, Moret, formed a ministry. Civil rights were restored to Catalonia, and the campaign in Morocco was concluded. By a treaty, Mulai Hafid, the Moorish Sultan, agreed to pay an indemnity for the Riff campaign, recognized the right of Spain to hold for seventy-five years the territory she had conquered, and entrusted the policing of the adjoining districts to a Moroccan force under Spanish instructors. As Moret was not supported by the full strength of the party he resigned. He was succeeded in 1910 by Canalejas, who, on the death of Sagasta, had become the leader of a group of independent Radicals, pledged to a bolder handling of Church questions than the main Liberal party were willing to sanction. This phase of modern Spanish history is treated elsewhere.

Italy from 1900 to 1912. Accession of Victor Emmanuel III.—The reign of Victor Emmanuel III of Italy began under the shadow of the assassination of his father, and when the Italian people had scarcely lifted themselves out of the humiliation of the national disaster of Adowa. The defeat of the Italian arms by the Abyssinians in 1896, while it was felt to be a severe blow to the prestige of the nation, was really a blessing in disguise. It left the

Italian people free to use all their energies for the setting of their home affairs in order. Crushed under a burden of taxation largely due to the efforts of the Italians to support the military establishment of a first-rank power, the people were in an angry and sullen mood. Riots in all the great cities, particularly in Milan, grew almost to the proportions of civil war. When his bills suppressing public meetings and associations were rejected by the Parliament, and afterwards as court decrees declared invalid by the Supreme Court at Rome, Premier Pelloux dissolved Parliament. The government was beaten in the balloting that followed and the premier resigned. A few days later (July 29, 1900) King Humbert was assassinated by an anarchist named Bresci.

The new king, a man of lofty character and scholarly attainments, had studied social problems and was an ardent patriot. His reign began a new era for Italy. His marriage in 1896 to a daughter of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro was most happy. To-day Queen Elena is as ardent an Italian as her royal husband, and their five children, four girls and a boy, are very popular.

Victor Emmanuel III at once summoned the veteran radical leader, Zanardelli, to form a ministry. Better times began at once. The tariff war with France was brought to a close, industry improved, and the credit of the country was restored. Taxes were lightened, and grants to education largely increased. Labor troubles and the loss sustained by emigration, chiefly to the United States and Argentina, presented serious problems. Signor Zanardelli was followed by Signor Giolletti in the premiership. Owing to excited popular feeling against measures taken to deal with the era of strikes, Parliament was soon dissolved. The railroads of the kingdom were purchased by the state in 1905, and most of the old evils which had arisen under private management were abolished. An eruption of Vesuvius in 1906 and the terrible earthquake at Messina and on the Calabrian coast in 1908 destroyed much property and many lives. They both demonstrated, however, the Italian power of recuperation, and the lavish charity

of the modern world when human need and distress calls aloud.

The old bitterness between the Vatican and the Quirinal, the papacy and the House of Savoy, is disappearing. Pope Pius X, who succeeded Leo XIII on August 4, 1903, has shown many evidences of kindly feeling toward King Victor Emmanuel, and Italy has now taken the place of France as the protector of Eastern Catholics. Theoretically, no faithful Italian Catholic takes part in active politics, but the sons of the Church are permitted, and even encouraged, to work against Socialists and anti-clericals.

Many problems having to do with the life of the masses of the people remain to be solved. Some progress has been made—largely due to the efforts of the Socialists—toward inculcating public thrift in the rural life of the nation. Coöperative societies, coöperative stores, savings banks, and other aids to the peasant are increasing.

Many reforms were brought forward by Baron Sonnino, leader of the Conservative ministry of 1906. These included a reduction of land taxes, favors to new industries, the building of new schools, and substantial improvements in the transportation systems. Government control of the life insurance business was soon effected, and went into operation in 1911. A notable triumph for the government and Italian civilization generally was the conviction (July, 1912) to long terms of imprisonment of the members of the Camorra, the lawless brigand society, after a trial consuming more than a year and a half. In July, 1909, the Italian people celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their existence as an independent united nation, and marked it by the unveiling of an imposing monument to Victor Emmanuel II.

The War with Turkey over Tripoli.—Italy's constant aim to play the part of a great power in the game of European alliances, as well as the necessity to secure an economic chance for her poverty-ridden sons—without losing them to her authority—has been responsible primarily for the seizure of Tripoli, and the war with Turkey, which at this writing (summer of 1912), after nearly a year, is still dragging its slow way to completion.

The Congress of Berlin in 1878 ear-marked Tripoli for Italy. As a Mediterranean power, to the Italian people this nearest African land, the patrimony of their Roman forebears, has always seemed to belong to them by every right, political, geographical, and historical. Thousands of Italians had settled in Tripoli and engaged in business. The Turks oppressed them and discriminated against their commerce.

Giolitti, the most eminent figure in Italian politics since the fall of Crispi, had held for years that Italy's mission called for the absorption of Tripoli. During the thirty years of progressive decay in Turkey that followed the Berlin Congress of 1878, the government at Rome watched the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire with complacency. When the revolution of 1908 occurred in Constantinople and Turkish finance and military power were reorganized, the Italian Foreign Office realized that its time had come.

It was the psychological moment. France was absorbing Morocco and a large part of Turkey's military force was engaged in putting down a rebellion in Yemen. On September 28, 1911, the Marquis di San Giuliano, Italy's minister of foreign affairs, issued an ultimatum to the Turkish government in which he gave a long list of claims made by Italy against Turkey for economic and commercial discrimination in Tripoli, and for injuries to Italy's commerce and to the persons of Italian citizens in other parts of the world. "Having the intention henceforth to protect its interests and its dignity" the Italian government "has decided to proceed to the military occupation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica." At the expiration of the time given in the ultimatum, the official reply of the Porte having been unsatisfactory, the formal declaration of war was made from Rome (September 29, 1911). With businesslike speed and thoroughness an Italian fleet appeared in the harbor of the city of Tripoli on September 30 and other vessels scoured the Mediterranean for the few ships of war Turkey possessed. Within forty-eight hours the entire coast of Tripoli was blockaded. Within a week of the declaration of war the Italian fleet had bombarded the

port of Tripoli and captured a number of Turkish warships, an army of 40,000 Italian troops had landed on Tripolitan territory, the cabinet of Hakki Pasha at Constantinople had fallen, the new ministry, under the grand viziership of Said Pasha, had ordered the expulsion of the Italians from Turkish territory and the boycott of Italian goods, Austria had warned Italy against landing troops on the mainland of Europe or bombarding towns in Asiatic Turkey, and Great Britain had forbidden the Ottoman government to send any of her military forces across Egypt into the disputed territory. The Italian ships and army of occupation had soon established Italy's claim to that portion of the country commanded by the Italian naval guns. The character of the country and the stubborn fighting qualities of the Arabs, however, at once made it evident that the reduction of Tripoli to the status of an Italian province would be an arduous task. On November 5 a decree was issued from Rome annexing Tripoli, and on February 23, 1912, the Italian chamber passed a bill to ratify the decree of annexation. The Turks refused to submit to the change, which, moreover, was not recognized by the great powers, and the war continued. During the first half of 1912 the chief events were the capture of a number of islands in the Ægean Sea by the Italian fleet, a partial bombardment of Smyrna and certain ports on the Red Sea, and the civilizing development by the Italians of the territory they held.

Meanwhile, a number of efforts had been made to bring about an end to the conflict, principally at the instigation of Russia, Germany, and France. Questions of neutrality and contraband arose between the governments of Rome and Paris. The Italians charged that French vessels, notably the *Manouba,* carried munitions of war and contraband to Tunis whence they were to join the Turkish military forces in Tripoli. This matter was amicably adjusted.

Portuguese Decadence under the Braganzas.—The century opened in Portugal with Carlos I, an amiable, easy-going, pleasure-loving king on the throne, a well-meaning man with all the charms and faults of the Braganzas.

The country had gotten into a bad way, politically and economically. The public men seemed to have lost all sense of honor. National and local administrations were corrupt to the core. Rotativism in office enabled the so-called Regeneradores and Progressistas to plunder the state without interruption. The royal family and the officials of state spent lavishly. The latter often drew their salaries for years in advance. Taxation increased steadily, yet the deficits never grew less, while the people faced grinding poverty. In more than one year it was impossible to meet the interest on the foreign debt. Business was stagnant, education languished. The catastrophe was approaching on swift feet.

In 1901 a few of the more crying abuses were remedied. Adult male suffrage, subject to the payment of a small sum and with an educational qualification, was established. But the crown retained its power to veto legislation and to issue autocratic decrees. Elections continued to turn out just as the government wished. In 1906 the king invited Joâo Franco to form an independent ministry. Franco was a man of unblemished private record and clean public career. He was, moreover, a man of means. He at once brought about a few economies and abolished a few sinecures. The situation seemed to be clearing. But Franco could not withstand the pressure of the king's extravagant living and the demands of the corrupt officials. The civil list of the royal family and the pay of the army were soon increased. Still larger sums were advanced from the public treasury to meet the needs of the pleasure-loving Carlos. Before long the king owed the state more than $750,000.

Assassination of King Carlos. Manuel Succeeds.—By the end of his sixth month as premier Franco had set the entire country against him and his master as well. With a fatuity almost beyond belief Carlos permitted his chief minister to assume the rôle of a dictator as the popular opposition increased. Early in 1907 Franco dissolved the Cortes and announced that he would rule the country without parliament. The press was muz-

zled, meetings prohibited, and opponents of the government imprisoned or banished. Political and civil liberty almost disappeared.

In January, 1908, the royal family left Lisbon for one of the palaces in the country. Minister Franco announced that a conspiracy against the government had been discovered. On January 31 he published a decree authorizing the ministry to imprison or expel suspected persons without any form of law. The next day when the royal family was returning a band of armed men sprang upon them, shot the king and the crown prince, and wounded the second son. Queen Amelia escaped with her life. Carlos and his eldest son died at once. Franco fled across the border into Spain, his illegal decrees were annulled, and a new coalition ministry was formed. Prince Manuel, eighteen years old, ascended the throne.

Enter the Portuguese Republic.—Some of the better elements of the population rallied about the young monarch. He was well-meaning but weak, pleasure-loving, and indolent, a typical Braganza. The republican party, which included all the enemies of the monarchy, laid its plans quietly and well. On October 5, 1910, the blow fell. The monarchy was overthrown with scarcely a shot, and a republic was proclaimed. Then the royal palace was bombarded, King Manuel fled from his capital, a provisional government was set up, and the provinces and the colonies accepted forthwith the revolution which the capital had wrought over night. The Braganzas had gone and no one mourned or regretted.

The provisional president of the Portuguese Republic was Professor Teofile Braga, a scholar and poet of European reputation. The other members of the new government were able, upright, and intelligent men. But they lacked political experience and were perhaps too zealous to carry out at once their idea of a purely secular democracy. The Church and the monastic orders were looked upon as allies of the monarchy—therefore they too had to go. The new government by one of its first acts roughly expelled the Jesuits and other religious orders from the country.

The republic was formally recognized by the rest of the world in September, 1911. The new republican constitution had gone into effect on August 25, and the first regularly chosen president under the new régime, Dr. Manoel Arriaga, elected by the National Assembly on August 24. Then the lower classes, not finding that all their roseate hopes had been realized and that their economic condition was not much better than under the old régime, lost enthusiasm and broke out into strikes. The Pretender, Dom Miguel, became active. Royalist plots and efforts at the restoration of the monarchy disturbed the career of the republic. Nevertheless, the latter seems to be established in Portugal beyond possibility of overthrow.

RUSSIA, 1900-1912, IN SLOW AND PAINFUL REVOLUTION

The Reign of Nicholas II.—The Russian people hoped much from the Tsar Alexander III when, in 1887, he ascended the throne. They hoped he would continue the humane, progressive policies of his father, liberator of the serfs. They also hoped he would carry out the wishes of the second Alexander and call a consultative assembly of notables. The reign passed, however, in reaction, repression, and suppression. Liberalism slumbered.

When, therefore, in 1894, Nicholas II, at the age of twenty-six, ascended the throne, the nation was slow to expect, but vibrant with hope. Soon after the coronation, the high principles of the new monarch were put to the test. Several Zemstvos begged that their representatives, members of the middle and lower classes, might be permitted to assist in the drafting of new laws. The reply to these loyal counsels was a bitter disappointment. Tsar Nicholas declared his intention of maintaining inviolate the principles of the autocracy. The wish of the Zemstvos to share in the administration of government was dismissed as a "senseless

dream." Like his father, he was a pupil of Pobedonostsev, the reactionary procurator of the Holy Synod, and the world learned with dismay that the numbing influence of this official was to dominate the new reign as it had dominated the old.

Witte begins Reforms.—But unsuspected, or at least, unmeasured forces had begun to work which in time were bound to stir the nation to its depths. In 1892 Serge Witte had become minister of finance, with an ambition to develop, it might almost be said to create, Russian industry. He improved credit by establishing a fixed value for the ruble and increasing the gold reserve. He extended the state monopolies, buying up private railways, and making new state lines. A tariff secured the home market to manufactures, and (1894) he established a government monopoly of the sale of alcoholic liquors.

But Witte was a man of business rather than a statesman. Alarmed by the discovery that less grain was being sown in Russia and that the consumption of bread was declining, he established a commission (in 1902) to promote agriculture. Many of the local committees appointed by this commission went beyond the original purpose of their creation, and demanded freedom of the press and representative institutions. They were bitterly condemned by Pobedonostsev, and in 1903 Witte was dismissed from the ministry of finance after eleven years of distinguished service.

Socialism and strikes began to spread among the rapidly increasing factory workers, the universities were restless, and the press increasingly bold. On Witte's fall Plehve, a brutal reactionary, the minister of the interior, became dictator of Russia. The first of a new series of attacks on the Jews, condoned if not originated by the government, occurred in 1903 at Kishinev. The atrocities horrified the world.

The defeat of Russia in the war with Japan overthrew the system of Plehve. Indignation was aroused by the discovery of corruption and shameful incomptence both at home and the front. Even the coöperation of the Zemstvos in the organization of relief was rebuked by

Plehve, and his assassination in July, 1904, was hailed as a national blessing.

The Promise of Mirski. The Disappointment.—After deliberating long, the Tsar finally appointed Prince Sviatopolk-Mirski, one of the most enlightened administrators in the empire, to succeed him. The new minister's first step was to ask for the confidence of the public. A conference of members of Zemstvos at St. Petersburg showed itself at once moderate and determined. These representatives of the people demanded inviolability of the person, freedom of conscience, speech, meeting, association, and instruction, the abolition of exceptional laws, and amnesty for political prisoners, Most important of all, they demanded an elected national assembly, which the majority insisted should possess legislative powers and which all agreed should absolutely control finance. The court seemed unable to come to a decision. An edict promising a wider franchise and larger powers for local bodies was followed by a denunciation of the claims of the reformers as "incompatible with the fundamental laws of the country." A strict censorship was revived.

In the early days of 1905 a significant event occurred. While a salute was being fired at St. Petersburg a shot fell close to the Tsar. He left the capital, and when, three days later, Father Gapon, a fanatical priest, headed a gigantic deputation of strikers and their families, the unarmed crowds were shot down by Cossacks in the public square of the capital. Mirski was dismissed, General Trepov became dictator, and Bloody Sunday was followed by a fierce struggle throughout the country. The peasants attacked the manor-houses, police officers were assassinated, and the Tsar's uncle, the Grand Duke Sergius, was murdered in Moscow.

Establishment of the First Duma.—The wiser heads at court recognized that the situation demanded concessions, and in March the Tsar declared his intention of summoning an elective assembly. Reforms affecting the Dissenters, the Jews, and the other subject nationalities were promulgated, and the censorship of the press once more lapsed. A great congress of Zemstvo leaders at

Moscow demanded the immediate convocation of a national assembly. On August 6 a decree announced the establishment of a consultative Duma, chosen by indirect election. In October the Tsar dismissed Pobedonostsev and Trepov, and recalled Witte, giving him the position of prime minister. Then came the manifesto of October 30, which promised freedom of conscience, speech, meeting, and association, a wider franchise, a veto on legislation, and effective control over the acts of officials. The manifesto satisfied the Conservative reformers who followed Shipov, the head of the Moscow Zemstvo. These were known as Octobrists.

On his return to office Witte invited Shipov to join the ministry. The latter consented, on condition that the Constitutional Democrats, popularly known as the "Cadets," who followed Professor Miliukov, a moderate republican, were included. Witte was willing, but the demands of the Cadets threatened the prerogatives of the Tsar.

Reaction and the "Black Hundreds."—Another storm now burst over the land. Mutinies broke out in the army and the fleet, and a revolt in Moscow was savagely repressed. Again reaction seemed to dominate the government. Durnovo, the minister of the interior, encouraged brutal reprisals, and incitements to riot were even printed in the government offices and circulated by the "Black Hundreds," the fanatical Union of the Russian People. Then Witte issued a decree conceding something like universal suffrage. When the elections took place, in the spring of 1906, the reformers had an overwhelming majority. The largest party in the Duma was that of the Cadets. The newly formed labor group representing the peasants came next, and the Octobrists last. There were scarcely any outspoken reactionaries. Witte was succeeded in the premiership by Goremykin, but the leading spirit of the new ministry was Stolypin, who soon became the dominant figure in Russian politics.

Stolypin and the Viborg Manifesto.—In reply to the Speech from the Throne the Duma boldly demanded control over the executive. It then carried a vote of

censure on the ministry, sent a commission to report on the latest "pogrom" or officially condoned attack on the Jews, and introduced a Land Bill incorporating the Labor party's principle of expropriation. The Tsar again invited the leader of the Octobrists to form a ministry, and Shipov once more insisted on including the Cadets. But they refused to join a coalition ministry. The Tsar then dissolved the Duma and appointed Stolypin premier. The Cadets and labor leaders fled across the Finnish frontier to Viborg, whence they issued a manifesto calling on the nation neither to pay taxes nor grant recruits till the Duma was restored.

The Viborg Manifesto was soon realized to have been a blunder. Stolypin set to work with great energy to strengthen the position of the government. Field courts-martial were instituted to punish terrorists and suspects. Murder and rapine were the order of the day. Tens of thousands were banished without trial, and the prisons were crowded. Yet, despite wholesale intimidation, the elections to the second Duma, held early in 1907, gave almost the same alinement of parties as the first. The Cadets again dominated the assembly. They adopted a defensive policy which, however, succeeded no better than the offensive. The Socialists were charged with conspiracy, and Stolypin demanded their exclusion. The Duma appointed a committee to examine the evidence; but, without waiting for the report, the government again dissolved the assembly.

Throughout the whole empire reaction now ruled unchecked. The Socialists and radicals were tried behind closed doors and sent to Siberia. The signatories of the Viborg Manifesto were sentenced to imprisonment. Hundreds were executed for offenses committed two or three years before, and criminals actually convicted of organizing pogroms were pardoned by the Tsar. Murders of officials and police were of constant occurrence. A restricted franchise had been announced after the dissolution of the second Duma, and the elections for the third were held in the autumn. The new house was chiefly composed of landowners. The largest party was the Octobrists, whose leader, Guchkov, dominated the

third Duma as Miliukov had dominated its predecessors. Stolypin had at last procured a complacent assembly.

Stolypin and the Third Duma.—The main legislative effort of Stolypin was to enable the peasantry to become owners of their land. In 1906 he issued decrees, which after prolonged discussion were embodied in a statute the next year, giving the peasant the right to claim his holding in individual possession and in single plot and empowering the Commune to substitute private for communal ownership. The ultimate effect of this change, which shattered the structure of Russian rural life, was that the Mir has received its death-blow. Stolypin was assassinated on September 14, 1911. The Tsar then appointed as his successor Vladimir Kokovtsev, who, besides being premier, holds the portfolio of finance.

Finland under Russification.—Besides the internal movement for reform the government has been increasingly occupied with the outlying nationalities. On the transference of Finland from Sweden in 1809 Alexander I solemnly guaranteed its constitutional rights, which were confirmed by his successors. Affairs of state were controlled by the Diet and Senate. The conditions of military service were light, and the army remained within the country. While Russia was sunk in barbarism and misery, Finland presented a spectacle of liberty, culture, and prosperity. It was toward the end of the reign of Alexander III that the first encroachments were made. With the appointment of Bobrikov as governor-general, in 1898, a systematic attack began. In 1899 the Diet was invited to make Finland a military district of Russia. The Finns, while agreeing to increase the army, rejected the proposal to merge it with the Russian military establishment. The change, however, was carried through by Kuropatkin, the minister of war. In the same year it was announced that Finnish bills need be submitted to the Diet only if they concerned Finland alone. The postal system was amalgamated with that of Russia, the censorship was made more rigid, and Russian police were introduced. These steps were at first met with passive resistance. In 1904, however, Bobrikov was assassinated. When a national strike

broke out in 1905 the Tsar promised to restore Finnish liberties and to grant universal suffrage. The new Diet met in 1907, but was dissolved in 1908. Stolypin issued an ordinance transferring the control of all matters concerning the whole empire to the Russian ministry and abrogating the right of the secretary for Finland to report directly to the Tsar. By these and further measures passed in 1910 the independence of the Grand Duchy is now in danger.

Russifying the Poles.—The latest effort at Russifying the Poles began after the insurrection of 1863. The whole country was ruthlessly suppressed. Socialism arose with the great industrial development of the last two decades of the century, and for a time there was talk of an armed rising. From 1901, however, the leading Polish parties have united in an attempt to obtain such a measure of autonomy as Galicia (Austrian Poland) has long enjoyed. Though all reformers have urged upon the Tsar the importance of a contented Poland, pacification is apparently still far off. The Baltic provinces also have been subjected to the brutalities of the Russification process. In 1885 Russian became the official language. The names of the places were changed, German has been forbidden in the schools and in the University of Dorpat, Lutheranism has been frowned on, local self-government swept away, and the country placed under Russian censorship.

In her foreign relations Russia's chief aim has been to regain the prestige lost after the war with Japan. Russian influence in the great game of world politics is set forth elsewhere.

THE SMALLER CONTINENTAL COUNTRIES: SCANDINAVIA, HOLLAND, BELGIUM, AND SWITZERLAND

The Problems of Scandinavia.—The six smaller nations on the continent of Europe: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, while not influencing or being affected to any great extent by the modern movements, have all felt the effects of these social, political, and economic changes.

The Scandinavian peninsula, made up of two countries, Sweden and Norway, kindred in many ways, became one political unit after the union of 1814. Though united under the same king, Oscar II, a man well-beloved, the two peoples had many points of difference. The Norwegians have always been a democratic people engaged chiefly in seafaring, and, later, in agricultural pursuits. The Swedes, on the other hand, have generally been aristocratic in their social structure and more given to industrial pursuits.

The century opened with the dispute over Norway's part in the foreign affairs of the common government uppermost in the minds of all Scandinavians. It was perhaps a case of incompatibility of national temper and a separation was the only solution. The Norwegians claimed that nothing was said in the Act of Union as to their share in the conduct of diplomatic affairs, that Swedes were generally appointed, and that the Swedish foreign minister could not be held responsible to the Norwegian parliament.

Separation of Norway and Sweden.—For many years before the final break the Norwegians had demanded separate ministers and consuls abroad; but the Swedes had always avoided the issue. In 1902 the difference became acute and the government of King Oscar proposed a commission made up of men of both countries to consider the matter. The results of their deliberations (published March 24, 1903) were not satisfactory to either nation. After much negotiation and the passage

of a number of bills in both parliaments, failing to come to an agreement, the Norwegian ministry, that of Christian Michelsen, resigned (June 7, 1905). On the same day the Norwegian Storthing (or Parliament) unanimously adopted a resolution declaring the Act of Union constitutionally dissolved. There was much resentment in Sweden. King Oscar fell ill with grief and some of the Swedish public even advocated war upon Norway to force her back into the union. But wiser counsels prevailed. After a solemn protest, King Oscar called an extraordinary session of the Swedish Riksdag on June 20. Premier Ramstedt resigned. Dr. Lundeberg formed a coalition cabinet and the Norwegian Storthing was requested to submit the question of separation to a vote of the Norwegian people. This was done and at the plebiscite on August 13, 1905, the vote was 368,211 for separation and only 184 against. A conference of delegates appointed by both nations met at Karlstad (Sweden) on August 31. On September 23 an agreement was reached. The boundary line was settled, a neutral zone determined upon, and Norway directed to dismantle her fortifications in this zone. The extraordinary session of the Riksdag approved the Karlstad agreement, accepted the repeal of the Act of Union, and recognized Norway as an independent state (October 16). The Norwegian Storthing had already ratified the separation (October 9). On October 27 King Oscar issued a proclamation relinquishing the crown of Norway. Later he renounced the right to the Norwegian succession for himself and his successors. The Norwegian government was then authorized to negotiate with Prince Charles of Denmark and arrange for a national vote as to whether he should be elected king. The plebiscite stood: 259,563 for his election and 69,264 against. On November 18 the Storthing unanimously elected him king, to reign as Haakon VII. On November 25 he and his Queen Maude, the youngest daughter of King Edward VII of England, entered Christiania. The coronation took place the next year in the old cathedral at Trondjem.

After the separation both countries went their own

ways. In Sweden the Lundeberg cabinet resigned and Karl Staaff became premier. Questions of extending the franchise were the chief concern of the Staaff administration. When his bill providing for universal manhood suffrage was rejected, Mr. Staaff resigned, and a Conservative ministry under Dr. Lindman was appointed (May 29, 1906). A compromise franchise bill was finally adopted (May 14, 1907). On December 9, 1907, King Oscar died, respected and mourned by all Europe, and was succeeded by his son Gustav.

Political Reform in Sweden.—The elections for the lower half of the Swedish Riksdag, held on September 27, 1911, were of unusual significance. The old second chamber had a nominal Conservative majority. A newly adopted law enfranchised all males of over twenty-four. To offset this the Conservatives had, by a series of ruses, secured the adoption of an intricate system of proportional representation intended to protect the rights of minorities. They hoped thus to get a working majority. The result was that the Liberals and Socialists gained and the Conservatives found themselves in a small minority. Then the two radical groups realized their opportunity. Instead of fighting each other for the benefit of the Conservatives, the Liberals and Socialists, both representing the popular will more nearly than their opponents, joined hands, forced the resignation (on September 30, 1911) of the Conservative premier, Arvid Lindman, and made up a combination program which they are now carrying through. The radicalization of the Swedish masses is proceeding with remarkable speed and in many quarters the doom of the monarchy is being freely predicted. The present ministry, presided over by Mr. Staaff, was established on October 7, 1911.

Woman Suffrage in Norway.—Meanwhile Norway has gone on her own way, with troubles and triumphs of her own. In 1907 parliamentary suffrage was granted to Norwegian women, for the first time in the history of sovereign European countries. Miss Anna Rogstad, elected a supplementary deputy, sat in the Storthing for a short time during the absence of the deputy.

Denmark from 1900 to 1912.—The great strike of Danish artisans in 1899 brought about a reorganization of the cabinet. Ludwig Ernest Bramsen, a famous specialist in industrial matters, became minister of the interior and effected a settlement of the strike. The Conservative party went to pieces on the vexed taxation question. King Christian agreed to the formation of a "cabinet of the Left," under Professor Deuntzer (1901). A number of reforms were effected, but a project to sell the Danish West Indies to the United States fell through. In January, 1906, King Christian died, after a long reign, and his son reigned as Frederick VIII. The government just got safely through the elections of 1906, but the Alberti scandal defeated it in July, 1908. Alberti, minister of justice, was accused of nepotism and financial irregularity and afterward convicted. King Frederick died on May 14, 1812, and was succeeded by his son, who reigns as Christian X. The present premier is Klaus Berntsen, appointed July 15, 1910.

Holland, Headquarters of the World's Peace Sentiment.—During the first decade of the twentieth century the little kingdom of the Netherlands was looked to by the world largely as the home of the splendid international tribunal set up at The Hague by the agreement of all the civilized powers for the settlement of disputes between nations. The first world peace conference was held in 1899, the second in 1907.

When the century opened the Dutch people were engaged in extending their franchise laws. When the young Queen Wilhelmina, at the age of eighteen, ascended the throne of her fathers (1898), and assumed the reins of government, the so-called van Houten law (passed by the Liberal ministry of 1894) had added to the electorate until it numbered close to a million votes. In 1901 Wilhelmina married Prince Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

Dutch sympathy with the Boers, especially when ex-President Kruger had fled from the Transvaal in a Dutch vessel and settled in Holland, was so intense that at one time it threatened to strain the relations between the Dutch and British governments. In 1903 a serious

railroad strike in Holland was put down only by the use of the military. Then a law was enacted by the States General making railroad strikes illegal. In the elections of 1905 the Liberals won by a narrow majority. As Queen Wilhelmina had had no children, there was much concern over the question of the succession. In 1909, however, she gave birth to a daughter. The advent of this little princess, Juliana, was received with great popular rejoicing. The people felt that there was less to fear in the menace of German absorption now that they had an heir to the throne. The ministry of Dr. Th. Heemskerk, appointed February 12, 1908, is still in office. Questions of coast defense, the colonies, and a new customs tariff have engaged public attention during the past few years.

Belgium. Leopold II followed by Albert I.—From 1865 to 1909 the history of Belgian affairs, foreign as well as domestic, was practically the biography of King Leopold II, not always to the enhancement of the reputation of the Belgian people. Belgium's historic rôle as the battlefield of Europe has always given her a political importance quite out of proportion to her size. Her geographical position in the center of a group of hostile world powers and her great economic importance have made her a choice morsel—so great a prize that the nations of Europe have come to an agreement that no one of them shall possess her. Belgium's perpetual neutrality was guaranteed in 1831.

Leopold II, who succeeded his father in 1865, was a model constitutional monarch. By his able management of his country's affairs he placed Belgium on a plane of great domestic prosperity and of worldwide importance. The Belgians are noted for their industry, intelligence, enterprise, and frugality. The successful expression of these qualities in action has been due very largely to the astute business methods and wise political policies of King Leopold II. Early in his reign he fixed upon the foreign policy of England as the model for Belgium, and thereupon began to urge ideas of colonization and the extension of trade. He advocated a strong navy and a merchant marine, and personally urged and

arranged for the distribution of samples of Belgian manufacturers to all parts of the world. At his instigation Belgian money and Belgian engineers built railroads in China, bridges in Egypt, and aqueducts in Australia. The trade of Antwerp extended to the uttermost parts of the earth. Leopold improved and extended the Belgian railroad system. He also made many municipal improvements, beautifying and modernizing the capital, Brussels, as well as the city of Liege, and improving the ports of Ostend and Antwerp. He never interfered in international affairs, although by training and natural intellectual equipment he was an authority on international matters. During his youth he traveled extensively, and so extensive was his knowledge of world politics, and so clear his judgment, that his personal weekly letter to Queen Victoria had at times considerable influence upon the foreign policies of the British government.

During the reign of Leopold Belgium prospered commercially and had no serious foreign problems, aside from the Congo question, which is explained elsewhere. In 1893 the franchise right was conferred on all male citizens above the age of twenty-five. The great factor in internal politics was the strife between the clerical and liberal parties. As a whole, the country prospered, and with its international position guaranteed it has played a prominent part as a promoter of many international agreements on such matters as neutrality in war, arbitration, hygiene, geographical science, and the postal service.

The general elections in May, 1900, resulted in a substantial though reduced Catholic majority. Among the laws passed during this period were those establishing industrial and labor councils, providing for the supervision of women and children, and regulating workshops. The government also extended and improved the school system. In 1905 the seventy-fifth anniversary of Belgian independence was celebrated. Two years later the Smet de Naeyer ministry, which had held office since 1900, was defeated (April, 1907). A new cabinet was formed under the premiership of de Trooz, who, on December 31 following, was succeeded by M. Schollaert.

The Count of Flanders, brother of the king, died in November, 1905, and under the Salic law left his son Albert heir to the throne. King Leopold died December 17, 1909, and was succeeded by this nephew, who now reigns as Albert I.

King Albert is a studious, progressive, popular monarch. His wife was Princess Elizabeth of Bavaria. They have three children. King Albert's reign has been marked by general prosperity. The language question, the thorny problem of religious vs. secular schools, and the extension of the franchise have been pressing for settlement. A Parliamentary Commission appointed in 1910 recommended a law reorganizing the communal and provincial elections on the same basis as those for Parliament—proportional representation. The Clerical ministry then in power was opposed by a coalition of Liberals and Socialists, who demanded electoral reform, the abolition of plural voting, and opposed the subsidizing of clerical schools by the government. A deadlock on the budget question ensued. Premier Schollaert resigned in May, 1912. A new ministry under the Baron de Broqueville, formerly mininster of railways, was formed (June 14, 1911). Large public demonstrations were made against the government's educational policy. At the general election on June 2, 1912, however, the Clerical party won by a substantial majority. An important law providing for pensions to coal miners went into effect on January 1, 1912.

Switzerland since 1900.—For a quarter of a century the Swiss republic has been a sort of political laboratory where new and radical governmental problems are worked out for the benefit of the rest of the world. The initiative and the referendum have been at work in Switzerland for years. In 1900 they failed to introduce the election of the Federal president by popular vote or proportional representation in the Nationalrat, but, in 1908, they did bring about the prohibition of the traffic in absinthe. The new Civil Code was adopted in 1907. The railway question has been a burning one in Switzerland during recent years. All of the five large lines have now been purchased by the government. Three were bought in

1901, one in 1903, and one in 1909. The control of all water power was made a federal monopoly in 1908. A notable event was the opening of the Simplon Tunnel in 1906. At the decennial census of 1910, the population of the republic was found to be 3,765,123, an increase of 400,000 since 1900. Although national proportional representation was defeated in 1910 several of the cantons adopted it. In the election of October, 1911, the radical government party was returned by a substantial majority. The president for 1912 is Dr. Louis Forrer, of Zurich.

TURKEY AND THE BALKANS

The Ever-Seething Balkans.—The century opened on the Near East with the Ottomans still groaning under the ghastly despotism of Abdul Hamid and the general situation in the Balkans one of "ever-imminent war." The Treaty of Berlin had cut down the dominions of the Sultan but had left abundant material for disturbances. Bulgaria had consummated the union of her divided provinces, fought a successful war with Servia, and then, thanks to Russian intrigues, lost her king. Her vigorous premier, Stambulov, perhaps the most commanding personality the Balkan states have yet produced, was assassinated in 1895. The next year Russia recognized Prince Ferdinand. Servia, meanwhile, had been going through many governmental vicissitudes. Her king, Alexander, having divorced his beautiful Queen Natalie, took for a second wife (1900) the fascinating but low-born and dissolute Draga Mashin. This woman was believed to be plotting against the democratizing of the constitution, and in 1903 both she and Alexander were brutally murdered in their palace. Peter Karageorgevich, representative of the rival house, then ascended the throne. He was accused of being a party to the assassination and was boycotted by most of the powers until 1906.

The condition of Turkey was most abject. Particularly miserable were the Christian subjects of the Sultan

in Asia Minor and Macedonia. Kurds butchered Armenians and Turks; Greeks, Bulgars, and Slavs murdered one another without effective restraint by commissions of inquiry, reform committees, or punitive expeditions.

Crete was seething. Prince George of Greece had been for three years High Commissioner of the Powers, a constitution had been in force, and the island had enjoyed a measure of peace. In 1904, however, the Christians began to quarrel among themselves, and Venezelos, the leader of the opposition, took to the mountains and proclaimed union with Greece. Later he was compelled to surrender. In 1906, however, Prince George resigned his post, his place being taken by Zaimis, an experienced Greek politician.

After the loss of Crete the Sultan was confronted by a still more difficult problem in Macedonia, which, like Armenia, had never obtained the reforms guaranteed by the Treaty of Berlin. The sorely tried Christians looked to the surrounding states for sympathy and support. Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia responded by a vigorous racial propaganda, while Rumania interested herself in the Vlachs. The feuds were greatly complicated by religious differences.

In 1899 the Macedonian Committee at Sofia appealed to the powers to create an autonomous Macedonia under a Bulgarian governor-general. Austria and Russia drew up a scheme of reform in February, 1903, providing for an inspector-general and the reorganization of the gendarmerie by foreign officers. The Sultan accepted the scheme; but the disorder increased. The Austrian and Russian emperors then drew up a revised edition of their program. The two powers attached civil agents to the inspector-general, the gendarmerie was placed under the command of an Italian general, and the greater part of Macedonia was divided up into sections under the supervision of officers of all the great powers except Germany.

But the elaborate machinery was useless, as the foreign officials and officers possessed no executive power. In 1905 the Sultan was compelled by a naval demonstra-

tion to permit the establishment of a financial commission. But the ravages of the bands continued.

The Turkish Revolution.—Then, in July, 1908, a dramatic transformation came over the entire situation. A genuine revolution overthrew the despotism of Abdul Hamid, and the Turks entered the family of modern nations.

The Young Turk party had long been prepared for the overthrow of the old régime. Their central organization was in Paris and their objects were known throughout Europe. Except in the Sultan's palace at Constantinople, however, their power was underrated. They were regarded as a party of academic enthusiasts, more noisy than dangerous. But the Sublime Porte understood and endeavored by every means in its power to nullify their propaganda. At the beginning of 1908 a favorable opportunity for action arrived. The Turkish troops in Arabia were unpaid and mutinous, heavy taxes and anti-language ordinances had irritated the Albanians, who had been the mainstay of Turkish military power. On the other hand, Moslem patriotism was aroused against foreign dictation in Macedonia and Crete.

Early in 1908 the Young Turks transferred their headquarters from Paris to Salonica. There a central body, known as the Committee of Union and Progress, was established to organize the revolution. Some of its organizers were military officers, prominent among them being Envir Bey and Niazi Bey. On July 22 Niazi Bey and his troops raised the standard of revolt at Resnia, a small town near Monastir. The next day the Committee of Union and Progress, under the presidency of Envir Bey, proclaimed the constitution in Salonica. It was announced that if the Sultan refused to obey this proclamation, two or three army corps would be marched on Constantinople. On the 24th Abdul Hamid yielded and issued an irade restoring the constitution of 1876 and ordering the election of a Chamber of Deputies. Other reforms, including the abolition of the censorship and the spy system, were announced. Some unpopular officers were assassinated. Otherwise the revolution was achieved almost without

bloodshed. For a time all rival nationalities, Turkish, Greek, Albanian, Armenian, Servian, Bulgarian, and Jew, worked together harmoniously. On August 6 (1908) Kiamil Pasha, an advanced Liberal, became grand vizier, and a new cabinet was formed.

Meanwhile the successful Young Turks had created a new situation for the statesmen of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. In an imperial rescript, dated October 7, the Vienna government announced the formal annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The independence of Bulgaria had been promulgated two days before. The Ottoman government protested to the powers, but received no satisfaction. Upon Austria's agreement to pay a certain indemnity, the Turkish boycott of Austrian goods was lifted, and the Ottoman government assented to the annexation of the two provinces (April 6, 1909) and recognized the independence of Bulgaria (April 19).

Soon dissensions began to appear under the new régime at Constantinople. In Albania, Macedonia, and Asia Minor sedition appeared, and in Arabia a widespread revolt broke out. In the capital itself Kiamil Pasha, the aged grand vizier, opposed the authority of the Young Turk committee. On February 14, 1909, he was forced to resign, and was succeeded by Hilmi Pasha, ex-high commissioner of Macedonia. A new political group, known as the Liberal Union, arose in opposition to the Young Turk committee. Mutinous troops seized the Parliament House, and on April 14 the grand vizier resigned, and was succeeded by Tewfik Pasha. It was then agreed by the reform leaders that the new régime would not be secure while the Sultan favored the reaction and an army of 25,000 men under Mahmoud Shefket Pasha was dispatched to Constantinople. The Parliament met, and sitting jointly as a national assembly issued a proclamation in support of the committee and its army (April 22, 1909). Mahmoud Shefket was now besieging Constantinople. Some of the garrison remained loyal to the Sultan, but after five hours of fighting, the constitutionalist army occupied the capital (April 25).

The National Assembly met in secret session two days

later and voted unanimously to depose Abdul Hamid II. It chose as his successor his younger brother, Mohammed Reshad Effendi, with the title of Mohammed V. On April 28 Abdul Hamid was removed to Salonica, and on May 10 the new Sultan was formally crowned. Hilmi Pasha again became grand vizier, but resigned on December 28, 1909, and was succeeded by Hakki Bey. The new constitution was promulgated on August 5, 1909, and Parliament was prorogued for three months on the 27th. The vizier resigned at the beginning of the Turko-Italian war (in October, 1911), but was persuaded to remain until December 30. On that date Said Pasha was proclaimed grand vizier. On January 3, 1912, the cabinet was reorganized under the new chief, and on January 15 the first Parliament was dissolved. At the elections held in April the Young Turk government received substantial indorsement.

Greece, Rumania, and Montenegro.—When Ferdinand and Francis Joseph repudiated the Treaty of Berlin, Crete followed by proclaiming union with Greece. King George refused. Nevertheless, a boycott of Greek goods was organized, and Turkish chauvinism brought both countries to the verge of war. The failure to extract advantages for Greece led to a movement for national reorganization, headed by the army. For months the dynasty was in danger and Athens was dominated by the Military League, which only dissolved on the meeting of a National Assembly at the end of 1910. The arrival of Venezelos from Crete to be premier has given Greece the guidance of a strong and statesmanlike hand. Rumania has made progress under her Hohenzollern ruler, King Charles, and his gifted wife, Carmen Sylva, interrupted only by occasional agragian discontent. Montenegro has had a generation of prosperity under the patriarchal sway of Nicholas, who granted parliamentary institutions in 1905 and celebrated the jubilee of his reign in 1910 by assuming the title of king.

PERSIA, INDIA, AND THE PARTITION OF ASIA

Europe absorbing Asia.—The partition of Asia, already treated in a preceding chapter, proceeded with almost startling rapidity during the first year of the twentieth century. There could be no more impressive demonstration of the advance of Europe upon Asia than a comparison of the map of the oldest of continents two decades ago with that in the year 1912. Then there were a dozen or more independent or semi-independent nations. To-day, Japan, China, and Siam are the only countries not absolutely dominated from Europe—although Turkey's capital is, of course, European only in a geographical sense. Moreover, Siam is virtually under French and English suzerainty, and the partition of China by Europe has actually begun.

The continent of Asia, as the map-maker of 1912 will show it, is divided, generally speaking, into (1) Russia's possessions and "spheres of influence"; (2) Britain's possessions and spheres; (3) Japan's possessions and the regions in which Japanese influence is predominant; (4) China, the extent and status of which are now hanging in the balance; (5) the colonies and sphere of France; (6) the three semi-independent countries, all even now earmarked for European absorption; and (7) the small holdings of Germany and Portugal.

In her age-long effort to secure a warm-water port, Russia bestrides Manchuria, to which she is about to add vast Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan (for that is what the "independence" of these former Chinese provinces means in its practical results); secures England's consent to absorb northern Persia, and lays elaborate plans for the conquest of Turkey. Germany, by her Bagdad Railway, aims at the control of Anatolia, and at Kiaou Chau secures a dominant position in the Chinese province of Shantung. British India is no longer limited to the peninsula of Hindustan. When George V, king of Great Britain, was crowned Emperor of India at the impressive Durbar held at Delhi in De-

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cember, 1911, he received the fealty of a realm which now includes, besides India proper, Burmah, Baluchistan, Assam, and immense regions in the Malay peninsula. Britain's Asiatic sphere covers also about a third of Persia, a fair-sized corner of Arabia, a recognized "predominance of political interest" in Tibet, and an almost unchallenged commercial supremacy in the vast valley of the Yangste River, besides the island of Hong Kong in the China Sea.

Indo-China is a French colony. Siam and the other quasi-independent Malay states are permeated with French influence, while China's island of Hainan and her fairest provinces of Yunnan and Szechuen are earmarked for France if ever the Middle Kingdom is actually divided up. Japan formally annexed Korea several years ago and besides this the Mikado's empire owns the island of Formosa, which she took from China at the close of the war of 1895. Her victory over Russia a decade later made her undisputed mistress of southern Manchuria, through her land leases and railroads, and turned over to her the southern half of the island of Sakhalin. A British colonial expert has given it as his opinion that if the Western powers can avoid war among themselves, Europe will be mistress of continental Asia by the year 2000.

Effect of the Anglo-Russian Rivalry.—The march of the Russian and British frontiers in Asia has given rise to the most important political situation on that continent. It may be said that all Asiatic politics hinges on this situation. Persian independence is sacrificed to it; the fate of China depends on it primarily and only in a secondary sense upon the attitude of Japan, which, in its turn, is largely conditioned by the activities of the Russian and British foreign offices. The future of Turkey also is bound up with Russian and British expansion in Asia.

Persia has had the misfortune to lie across Russia's march to the southward and Britain's expansion to the north. Having absorbed Turkestan and the other minor khanates of Central Asia, and having established her influence securely at Herat, the capital of the Afghans,

Russia finds nothing between her and the territories of British India, one of the goals of Muscovite ambition, except the ancient empire of Xerxes. Russia is also anxious to retrieve her prestige lost in Asia by her defeat at the hands of Japan.

The Tragic Fate of Persia.—The history of Persia during the past quarter of a century has been a story of increasing degradation, followed by an only partially successful attempt at reform. Up to five years ago, the government was an absolute despotism, the Shah, or "King of Kings," being regarded by the people as the vicegerent of the Prophet. Late in the year 1905, a series of popular demonstrations, led by Persians who had been educated in the West, resulted in the establishment of a National Council or Parliament known as the Majlis, composed of elected members. On December 30, 1906, the Shah, Muzaffar-ed-din, formally established and stated the powers and duties of this National Council. There was also to be a Senate. On January 8, 1907, Muzaffar-ed-din died, and his son, Mohammed Ali Mirza, became Shah. On October 8, 1907, Mohammed Ali signed the constitution, and on November 12 the Majlis took the prescribed oath.

Very soon, however, the new Shah began to show reactionary tendencies, and attempted to withdraw, piecemeal, the representative system of government. On June 23, 1908, the Parliament building at Teheran, the capital, was partly demolished and sacked by troops sent by the Shah, who issued a decree abolishing the National Council. Riot and rebellion at once broke out all over the country, lasting for a year. The so-called Nationalist forces marched upon Teheran in June, 1909, and forced the Shah to reconfirm the constitution of 1907. Upon the entrance of the Nationalist forces into the capital, on July 19, the Shah fled to the Russian legation, and abdicated three days later. A provisional government was then formed to advise the cabinet. Mohammed Ali Mirza's eldest son, Sultan Ahmed Shah, then eleven years of age, was enthroned under the regency of his uncle, Azud-el Mulk.

Representative government was realized rapidly. The

elections began in August, 1909. On November 15 the new Parliament was opened by the Shah. On September 22, 1910, Azud-el Mulk died, and the National Council elected Abul'l Kessin Kahn as regent in his place. By the beginning of 1909 the Persian people seemed to have gradually worked out, after much trouble and with many flaws and weak points, a fairly effective system of representative government.

Then the vital question of finance sharply pressed for settlement, and the Parliament at Teheran requested the United States government to suggest a financial adviser with four assistants to reorganize the entire financial system of the country. W. Morgan Shuster, who had had valuable experience in Cuba and the Philippines, was chosen to head the commission finally selected. He was to be as treasurer-general, and he was clothed by the Majlis, or Persian Parliament, with absolute control over every department of finance.

Mr. Shuster seemed to have brought to his task ability and energy. However, by his efforts to rehabilitate Persian finances, he soon incurred the enmity of Russia, and a demand was made on the Persian government, November 29, 1911, for his dismissal. The Parliament refused to consider this demand, although the feeble cabinet counseled submission. Russia, meanwhile, concentrated troops within striking distance of Teheran and on December 21 sent a second ultimatum to the Persian government. The next day the government weakened, and acceded to all of the Russian demands. The formal dismissal of Mr. Shuster and his associates took place on December 25.

Russia, however, did not withdraw her troops, and her commander in Persia made many harsh reprisals on Persian life and property.

Britain, through her Indian government, has extended her influence over all the territory between the Persian boundary and India proper. Long ago she practically absorbed Baluchistan. In 1907 the governments of London and St. Petersburg arrived at an agreement, according to which Persia is divided into three sections, a Russian sphere of influence, a neutral zone, and a

British sphere. The exact terms of this agreement of August 31, 1907, between Britain and Russia, have never been made public. In substance, however, they amount to a promise to limit their "activities" to the sections delimited in the agreement. The object of the two powers, in making this agreement, has been publicly set forth as "not in any way to attack, but rather to assure forever the independence of Persia." The convention was chiefly brought about by loans made by Russia and Great Britain in 1900. It was primarily to secure payment for these loans, which aggregated something over $12,000,000, that the agreement was made. Persia was not consulted in the matter.

The Progress of British India.—The rule of British viceroys of India during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with only brief intervals of pause, was characterized by notable advance in the intellectual, social, moral, religious, political, and industrial welfare of the great Asiatic realm under British sovereignty. Despite temporary failures, Britain has established in India peace, made roads and railroads, introduced irrigation systems, brought in posts, telephones, and telegraphs, codified laws, instituted a settled policy of land revenue, and organized a police and military system to preserve tranquillity, at the same time, giving a comparatively free hand to the rulers of the native states. There has been, finally, an increased participation of natives in the administration of government.

While some Indian viceroys have been mere figureheads, Lord Curzon, who arrived in 1899, as the successor to Lord Elgin, was the undisputed ruler of India. His first task was the settlement of the frontier problem. The British forces were gradually withdrawn from the Khyber region and other advanced posts, and their places taken by tribal levies, with independence guaranteed so long as order was maintained. A new frontier province was created by separation from the Punjab in 1901.

In domestic affairs the régime of the new viceroy opened badly, with a renewal of famine in 1900, more costly in life and money than that of 1897. But after

its conclusion the financial situation rapidly improved. Every department of state was overhauled by searching commissions of inquiry. On the advice of Lord Kitchener, the commander-in-chief, the distribution of the army was changed and the troops furnished with more efficient weapons. A drastic measure was carried to prevent the alienation of land. Primary schools were increased in number.

Though he sternly punished the ill-treatment of Indians by Europeans, Lord Curzon had little sympathy with the political aspirations that were stirring among educated natives. He boycotted the National Congress, cut down the representative element on the Calcutta Municipal Council, and estranged the Bengalis. On his return from England in 1904, he took a step which led directly to a dangerous crisis. Bengal had already thrown off the northwest provinces and Assam, and a population of over eighty millions made a further partition desirable. Consultations with leaders of native opinion might have led to an acceptable compromise; but the opportunity was thrown away. Despite the passionate protests of the Congress party, a new province was created in 1905 by a fusion of Assam with a large slice of eastern Bengal. This act has been characterized as the greatest political blunder since the Mutiny. Its effects were only partially counteracted by the reuniting ordinance enacted into law after the Durbar of King George V, in December, 1911.

The last year of Lord Curzon's term witnessed the dispatch of an expedition to Lassa, the mysterious capital of Tibet. There had been a long series of Tibetan insults to British dignity. When the Dalai Lama engaged in negotiations with Russia, in 1904, Lord Curzon sent an armed mission to Lassa under Colonel Younghusband. The advance was but feebly resisted. The sacred city was entered, the Dalai Lama fled, and a treaty was made, with his successor, providing for a resident in Lassa, and facilities for trade. In 1905 Lord Curzon resigned because he disagreed with the Kitchener proposals for the reorganization of the military department.

His successor, Lord Minto, lacked his knowledge and experience, but he felt genuine sympathy with the ideals of educated Indians. The appointment of Mr. Morley to the India Office in 1905 emphasized the change from the old order. The viceroy and secretary of state were in agreement as to the need both of generous political concessions and of further repression of violence. India expected much from Lord Morley, the thinker from whom she had learned the principles of liberalism; but his refusal to modify the partition of Bengal caused intense disappointment. The Swadeshi movement began, European goods were boycotted in parts of Bengal, and several Europeans were murdered. The government replied by drastic laws against seditious meetings, the press, and the use of explosives. Several high-class offenders were sentenced to imprisonment. The deportation of men of high character and position without charge or trial aroused indignation in England, and led numbers of Indian politicians to despair of the government. The National Congress at Surat in 1908 split in two, the extremists parting company with the moderates represented by Gokhale, one of the best known and ablest of India's public men.

Despite the campaign of repression a far-reaching scheme of reform was being elaborated in 1909. An Indian barrister was appointed as legal member of the viceroy's executive council, and two Indians as members of the council of the secretary of state. Special safeguards for the interests of the Mohammedan minority were provided. Greater latitude was permitted in regard to criticism and debate. The reform scheme was welcomed both in India and England as wise and generous, and a more hopeful feeling was already manifest when Lord Minto and Lord Morley laid down their burden in 1910. Though they failed to reconcile the opponents of British rule, they had opened up a field of common activity between the bureaucracy and the leaders of native opinion. Lord Hardinge took up the duties of the viceroyalty in 1911.

CHINA, JAPAN, AND THE ASIATIC MONROE DOCTRINE

The Awakening of China and Japan.—"The importance that in ancient times the Mediterranean had for mankind and which the Atlantic possessed from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, seems to-day to be shifting to the Pacific Ocean." In the sequence of events so keenly interpreted in these words of the French historian, Rambaud, there have been two main factors: the awakening of the Far East and the emergence of the United States of America as a world power. Of these the former has been the more dramatic.

Undoubtedly the most important event in the political history of the past half-century was the arousing of Japan and China from their sleep of ages. The influence of this on world politics has already been enormous. And the end is not yet. Indeed we are apparently even now only at the beginning.

Japan was truly a hermit nation until, in 1854, the warships of the American sailor Perry forced her to open her doors and thoroughly revise her political ideas. Reference has already been made to the progress in the Island Empire during the early part of the last century and to the successful war it waged against China in 1894. This achievement won for the Japanese their recognition by Great Britain as a civilized state. Soon the other powers followed Britain's lead, exterritoriality was at an end, and, for the first time in history, Europe submitted to the decisions of an oriental court of law and an Asiatic government.

The first Japanese parliament assembled in 1890. The progressive Emperor Mutsuhito had come to the throne in 1867, the shogunate was overthrown, and feudalism completely suppressed. After the treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), Russia, France, and Germany, alarmed at the meteoric rise of the Mikado's empire, ordered Japan to surrender the Liao-Tung peninsula which had been ceded by China. Japan, however, retained the island of

Formosa and exacted an increased indemnity from her conquered neighbor.

European Aggression on China.—This intervention of the European powers opened a new chapter in the history of the Pacific east. As a culmination of her eastward expansion, beginning in the early part of the seventeenth century, Russia had secured the Amur region and begun the Trans-Siberian railway. As her compensation for saving China from the loss of the Liao-Tung peninsula the Muscovite empire got the right to build a branch of the Trans-Siberian through Manchuria. Then Germany, to obtain "satisfaction" for the murder of German missionaries, seized the port of Kiao-Chow (Kiauchau) in 1897 and forced China to lease it to her for ninety-nine years. Russia later (in March, 1898) demanded—and secured—a lease of the coveted ice-free harbor of Port Arthur. Britain and France also forced concessions, as has already been recorded in these pages. But the Italian demand was refused.

Although China was the principal victim of these European aggressions, it was in Japan that the greatest indignation and resentment was aroused. Russia's capture for herself of the stronghold of Port Arthur, which had been won by Japanese arms on the field of battle, may be said to have been the first moving cause of the great war fought six years later between the two nations. Japanese troops took a most creditable part in the expedition to rescue the legation at Peking from the Boxers in 1900.

Admiral Alexeiev, the Russian viceroy of the Far East, summoned the authorities at Peking to resume the government of Manchuria under the protection of Russia. Japan protested vigorously. Nevertheless, although her position was strengthened by the alliance with Great Britain (concluded in 1902), her protest was unavailing. A Russo-Chinese treaty was signed, Russia promising to gradually evacuate Manchuria and China agreeing to protect Russian interests in that province.

Russia and Japan at Swords' Points.—In the autumn of 1902 the Russian troops were withdrawn from part of Manchuria. The next year, however, under pretext of

safeguarding her railroad and other interests there, Russia, instead of continuing the evacuation, actually demanded new concessions. China, morally supported by Japan, Great Britain, and the United States, refused the Russian demands. The Muscovite attention was then turned to Korea. Russian adventurers and speculators, the latter including even high members of the court at St. Petersburg, were deeply interested in a timber-cutting concession on the banks of the Yalu River in northern Korea. Russian intrigue was fast enmeshing the peninsula. Japan complained that the agreement to withdraw from Manchuria was not being honestly carried out by Russia. She suggested a treaty which should safeguard Russian interests in Manchuria and clearly define her own position in Korea. The Tsar refused to admit that Japan had any interests at all in Korea. Meanwhile the Russian war office was hurrying troops to the disputed regions in Manchuria.

The long drawn out diplomatic negotiations having failed, Japan, regarding these extensions of Russian power as a menace to her national existence, issued (on February, 1904) what was in effect an ultimatum. The die had been cast.

The Russo-Japanese War.—Events moved with dramatic swiftness. At the expiration of the time of the ultimatum, without waiting for a declaration of war, the Japanese warships (on February 8, 1904) surprised the Russian fleet at Port Arthur. Two Russian battleships and two cruisers were sunk or disabled by torpedoes. The harbor was then blockaded and the rest of the Russian ships "bottled up." Other of the Tsar's vessels of war were sunk or damaged in the harbor of Chemulpo. Thenceforward the Japanese held the command of the sea. Korea was fully occupied by the Mikado's armies and the Russians driven beyond the Yalu River. The Japanese lines were gradually drawn across the head of the Liao-Tung peninsula, and on May 28, 1904, Port Arthur had been completely cut off on the land side. For seven months the fortress was invested. Notable bravery was exhibited by both besiegers and besieged. On New Year's Day, 1905, General Stoessel, the Russian

commander, surrendered, with 24,000 men and much munitions of war.

Meanwhile Kuropatkin, the Russian commander, had been disastrously defeated at Liao-Yang (September, 1904). He sustained another reverse in a prolonged struggle along the Sha-ho River (October). The armies passed the winter entrenched amid ice and snow. Both suffered greatly, particularly the Russians. The Trans-Siberian railway, with its single track, had proved inadequate to supply so great a host. The fall of Port Arthur on the first day of 1905 set free a seasoned Japanese army of 200,000 men, with many heavy siege guns. These forces at once joined the vast army of Field Marshal Oyama, and enabled him, after two weeks' tremendous struggle, to drive the Russians from Mukden, the Manchurian capital (March 10, 1905). Both sides lost more than 60,000 men killed and wounded in this titanic conflict. Kuropatkin retreated northward toward Harbin, an important town on the railway, his army broken and disorganized. The Japanese were too exhausted to follow.

Togo's Victory at Tsushima.—Meanwhile a large Russian fleet, very powerful on paper, under the command of Admiral Rojestvensky, had been making the long voyage from the Baltic to retrieve the Tsar's fortunes on the sea. In a moment of causeless panic (October 21) the Russian gunners fired on some English fishermen in the Channel, and thereupon resentment in Great Britain almost precipitated hostilities between the two powers. Rojestvensky himself was an able, devoted sailor. But his vessels were badly equipped through corrupt administration, and his crews were mutinous, demoralized, and poorly officered.

Bound for Vladivostok, the Russian armada finally entered the Sea of Japan. In a three-days' battle (May 27-29) the Russian ships were annihilated. Without serious damage to a single ship, Togo, the Japanese admiral, sank or captured nineteen of the vessels of his enemy. Russia's naval power was destroyed, her cause rendered hopeless, and the command of the Pacific decided in a single day. The battle of Tsushima, or the

Sea of Japan, will be recorded as one of the really epoch-making sea fights of history.

The Treaty of Portsmouth.—An armistice was suggested, but not agreed upon. The Japanese then landed a force on the island of Sakhalin, from which the Russians had driven them in 1875, and began to close in on Vladivostok. The Tsar was induced to consider the question of peace. The resources of Japan had been strained almost to the breaking point, and she also was quite ready for an honorable termination of the conflict. Through the efforts of President Roosevelt of the United States, representatives of the two powers met at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in August, 1905, to discuss terms of peace. Three weeks later (September 5) a treaty was signed. Russia agreed to surrender Manchuria and the Port Arthur railway to China, to cede her leases of the Liao-Tung peninsula to Japan, to recognize the preponderance of Japan in Korea, and give up to the latter power the southern half of the island of Sakhalin.

Significance of the War.—The Russo-Japanese war was an event of the very first importance, not only for the two powers immediately concerned, but for China, America, and the whole world. The powers of the west had watched the struggle with amazement and growing apprehension. The perfect organization of fighting force, executive administration, and sanitary equipment, the strategic genius, and the almost superhuman courage shown by the Japanese were utterly unexpected, more so even than the lack of preparation and blundering incapacity of the brave but ineffective Russians. The Japanese were united and knew even down to the humblest soldier what they were fighting for. The Russian people, on the other hand, most of them six thousand miles from the scene of the contest, knew nothing of the causes and purposes of the war. The Japanese generals had fought over the same territory in their war with China ten years before. Moreover, they were superbly prepared, while their foes were at a vast distance from their base of supplies and depended on a single-track railroad.

The war had cost each side about $100,000,000 and 200,000 in killed and wounded. But for Japan it was a premier event. Single-handed she had overthrown the ringleader of the band of freebooter European powers which for more than a decade had been carving up China. The spell of an irresistible Occident had been broken. All Asia was thrilled with a self-respect and confidence she had not known before. The first victory of a " yellow people " over a white one since the Turks captured Constantinople involved the future of China and the control of the Pacific, questions in which not only Asia and Europe, but America and Australia as well, are vitally concerned. The generals of the Japanese emperor had enunciated on the battlefields of Manchuria a sort of Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. Hereafter no Asiatic question will be settled without the consent and participation of at least one Asiatic nation. The war seriously impaired Russia's prestige. On the other hand it liberated mighty forces of reform in the Tsar's empire, the regenerative power of which is working changes which promise in the not far distant future to bring vast Russia abreast of the world's progress.

Japan since the War.—Since the war Japan has been making effective internal reforms, particularly of an economic nature, consolidating her outlying possessions and spheres of influence and bettering her relations with foreign powers. The taxation problem has claimed much attention from her statesmen, as has also the problem of emigration. Under the diplomacy of Prince Ito, she drew Korea closer to her. An agreement (made on July 24, 1907) substituted Japanese officials for Korean. Ito was assassinated by a Korean fanatic on October 26, 1909. The next summer (August 29, 1910) Korea was formally annexed to Japan.

Japan's foreign relations have been set down on definite lines. An agreement with Russia defining the respective spheres of the two countries in Manchuria was signed on July 4, 1910, and approved by China July 21. The emigration question as it affected the United States, particularly California, was settled by a new treaty ratified by the United States Senate on February 24, 1911.

On July 13 an agreement was made between Japan and Great Britain revising the terms of alliance and renewing it for ten years. On July 30, 1912, the emperor Mutsuhito died, in his sixtieth year, and the splendid era of Meiji came to an end. The new emperor, Yoshihito, born August 31, 1879, at once succeeded to the throne. The Katsura Cabinet, appointed July 14, 1908, resigned on August 25, 1911, and Marquis Saionji succeeded as premier on August 30.

The Tremendous Effect on China.—The one great immediate result of the war between Russia and Japan was the awakening of China from her sleep of centuries. After the short, sharp conflict between the Chinese and the Japanese in 1895, the former began to stir in their sleep. One by one the material improvements of the west were adopted. Railroad and telegraph concessions were given to foreigners and the country began to admit westerners to its trade and commerce. The young emperor, Kuang Sui (Tsait-ien) favored the introduction of western civilization. But his aunt, the now famous dowager empress, Tsi-An, opposed this. In 1898, by a coup d'état, she regrasped the power she had exercised during the emperor's minority. It seemed as though reaction had set in. In 1900 the widespread nationalistic uprising against foreigners, headed by the Boxers, one of the many Chinese secret societies, resulted in the massacre of many Europeans. The embassies in Peking were besieged. To rescue them a joint army was formed by the great powers of Europe, together with Japan and the United States. Under command of Count von Waldersee, a German general, this force fought its way to Peking and rescued the legations. The empress dowager was forced to make peace with abject apologies and China to pay large money indemnities.

But if China began to stir after her own war with Japan, she awakened entirely and sat up after the epoch-making clash between Russia and Japan. She began in earnest to take stock of her shortcomings. The reactionary nationalism which had culminated in the Boxer movement now gave place to an enthusiasm for western learning and western methods. The government issued

decrees one after another, condemning foot-binding, recommending marriage between Manchus and Chinese, abolishing the hoary system of literary examinations for official positions, and totally prohibiting torture or mutilation as forms of punishment. Railroads were built. Many schools were opened with Japanese and western teachers. Hundreds of Chinese young men went abroad to study, bringing back with them the new spirit which was finally to effect the revolution.

Rising against the Manchus.—The Manchus had ruled the Chinese millions from 1644, when the Ta Ch'ing Ch'ao ("Great Pure Dynasty") was established by conquest. For centuries the imperial wish had been made known to the people in decrees, edicts, rescripts, and memorials, generally published daily in the *Peking Gazette*, the oldest newspaper in the world.

In the opening years of the century the leaven of discontent and unrest had begun to work. The Manchus must go, wrote an enlightened Chinese student in 1910, because "they have failed to fulfill those duties and to grant those liberties deemed by the masses to be necessary to their happiness; their courts are corrupt and inefficient; the people have changed their method of thinking; and there are in the Middle Kingdom many hungry stomachs which know not where to be filled."

The well-meaning but weak young emperor realized the need of the hour and tried his best to meet it. Early in 1906 the dowager empress, then in control of the government, sent a commission of five eminent men to Europe to study and report on western forms of government. On September 1, 1906, the regent empress issued in the name of her nephew an edict promising a real constitution, as soon as the people were ripe for it and urging the reform of public education and the reorganization of the finances and the army. The reform ideas spread rapidly in all circles. In 1908 the masterful woman and the puppet emperor died within a day of each other. But the death of the most remarkable personality of modern China brought no actual change over the face of the situation.

Preparing for a Parliament.—On December 3, 1908, an edict was issued, reaffirming that of August 27, of the same year, which had announced a parliament and a constitution in the ninth year from date, that is, in 1917. The program listed a certain measure of reform to be carried out each year. In October, 1910, the so-called senate was summoned to Peking to form the nucleus of the future parliament. This senate was composed of 262 members, some appointed by the crown, some by the provincial assemblies, and the remainder by the ministries. The senate had deliberative power only. It chafed under this restriction and demanded that the Grand Council, the real ruling body, be made responsible to it. This the throne refused. Later, however, it yielded, and issued an edict summoning parliament to meet in 1913.

The Revolution Begins.—In the meantime popular hatred of the Manchu, the historic oppressor of the Chinese, the pressure of famine, and the railroad loan policy of Peking had precipitated open rebellion in the populous, busy commercial province of Szechuen in the heart of the empire. In October, 1911, a revolutionary force attacked and captured the important city of Wuchang, and immediately set up there an independent military government. The revolutionary spirit spread widely and rapidly. Province after province seceded from the empire. By the beginning of 1912, fourteen out of the twenty-two provinces had thrown off the Manchu allegiance. To save itself the dynasty agreed to every popular demand, retaining only the empty title of sovereignty.

The National Assembly met in Peking on October 22, 1911. In forty-eight hours the senate drew up a constitution, on November 3 an imperial edict sanctioned this constitution, and on November 26 the regent, Prince Chun, acting in the name of the baby emperor, swore to observe and defend this new organic law of the land.

The situation was getting beyond the control of the government. The triumphant revolutionary forces were winning city after city. The National Assembly impeached Sheng-Hsuan-Huai, minister of posts and com-

munications, who had been largely instrumental in negotiating the railway loan obnoxious not only because borrowing from foreigners was disliked but because it meant a collision between the national and provincial authorities.

On October 24 the Assembly demanded a number of reforms, including the immediate establishment of a parliament and amnesty for the rebels surrendering in view of these reforms. Two days later the minister of posts was dismissed. This was the first intimation of the throne's surrender. By an edict of October 30 the baby emperor, Pu-Yi, acknowledged the defects of his administration and promised all the reforms asked. On the same day the regent summoned Yuan Shih-kai and gave him supreme command of the army and navy. Yuan, at one time viceroy of the metropolitan province of Chih-li, a keen, strong leader, conservative but realizing that the moment had come for a new order in government, had been summarily dismissed (in January, 1909) because of a disagreement of opinion with the dowager empress. Now (November 1, 1911) he was made premier, clothed with dictatorial power, and authorized to form his own cabinet.

All these concessions, however, did not satisfy the revolutionists. Continued success had encouraged the leaders to demand far greater changes than they had at first sought. Late in October a republic was proclaimed, with Li Yuan Heng, commander-in-chief of the revolutionists, as "President of the Republic of China." On November 3 the emperor accepted the draft of a new constitution limiting the power of the throne and giving Parliament control of the budget. Within the next few days the rebels captured the important cities of Shanghai, Suchow, Fuchow, and Canton. This placed the whole of central China, with the exception of Nanking and Hankow, which had been retaken by the loyal troops on November 1, under revolutionary control.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, First President of China.—Yuan hesitated and deliberated until his sincerity was beginning to be suspected. Then, although the northern or imperial loyal army was devoted to him and might have

been used to prolong the struggle, he evidently decided that the time had come for a constitutional monarchy with the Manchus as figureheads. On November 13 he arrived in the capital. Three days later his cabinet, in which were numbered several avowed sympathizers with the revolution, was appointed. The northern provinces agreed to his régime. The Chinese south, always fiercely republican and anti-Manchu, was not appeased. The Yangste valley continued to be the scene of bloody fighting. On November 29 Nanking fell before the rebels and the climax of the revolution had been reached. On December 9 a truce was called to permit of peace negotiations. Meanwhile (on December 6) the regent had abdicated and two guardians—a Manchu and a Chinese—had been appointed for the little emperor. He issued a pathetic memorial to his people, confessing his shortcomings. The truce was extended. On December 29 the Nanking (Republican) Assembly, in a provisional convention representing fourteen out of the twenty-two provinces of the empire, unanimously elected as "Provisional President of the United Provinces of China," Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a lifelong devoted republican worker, whose efforts to obtain financial support for the revolutionists, extending over years, had brought him into prominence in both Europe and America. On January 17, 1912, yielding to pressure, a conference of Manchu princes at the palace in Peking, decided on abdication.

Abdication of the Manchus.—For five thousand years, up to February 12, 1912, China was a monarchy, in form an autocracy. On that day it became a republic. The edict of abdication was published three days later, and the poor little baby emperor one day less than six years old (he was born on February 11, 1906) retired with the former regent, his mother, and the rest of the Manchu royalty to luxuriant exile. After a supremacy of 268 years the Manchu empire had ceased to exist.

Yuan Shih-kai, President of the New Republic.—On February 15, Dr. Sun Yat-sen patriotically withdrew from the office to which he had been provisionally chosen, and Yuan Shih-kai was elected the first President of China. On March 10 he took the oath of office, to hold

it until a regularly conducted election of the whole people could determine the nation's choice for chief magistrate. Yuan at once formed a cabinet, with Tang-Shao-yi as premier. The republic adopted a new flag, in which the old yellow dragon has been replaced by five stripes—red, yellow, white, blue, and black, representing the five races in China—Mongol, Chinese, Manchu, Mohammedan, and Tibetan.

By an edict of July 22, 1908, provincial assemblies had been established and elections held for them. The first meetings were held on October 14, 1909, with gratifying results. On May 8, 1911 a new opium agreement between England and China was signed at Peking which apparently insures the extinction of the opium traffic in, at most, seven years.

If the Chinese republic can successfully resist the partitioning efforts of the European powers and can so manage its financial affairs that it will not be dependent on the bankers of the west for the capital to mobilize its natural resources, its future is bright and big beyond the vision of the generation that saw it born.

With the fates of Japan and China in the hands of their own people, history in the Far East takes a new departure.

EUROPE'S ABSORPTION OF AFRICA

Partition of the Dark Continent.—The European nations have found in Japan and China certain obstacles to their invading appetites. The complete partition of Asia may take another century. The absorption of Africa, on the other hand, is now virtually accomplished.

Kept out of South America by the warning of the Monroe Doctrine, and still impelled to seek outlets for their population and markets for their trade, the European powers, late in the nineties of the past century, turned to the Dark Continent. In 1875 there were only a few patches of white man's settlements along the coast.

Europe's Absorption of Africa—To Illustrate France's "Pacific Penetration" of Morocco, Algeria and Tunis, and her Advance Southward, as well as Italy's "Digestion" of Tripoli.

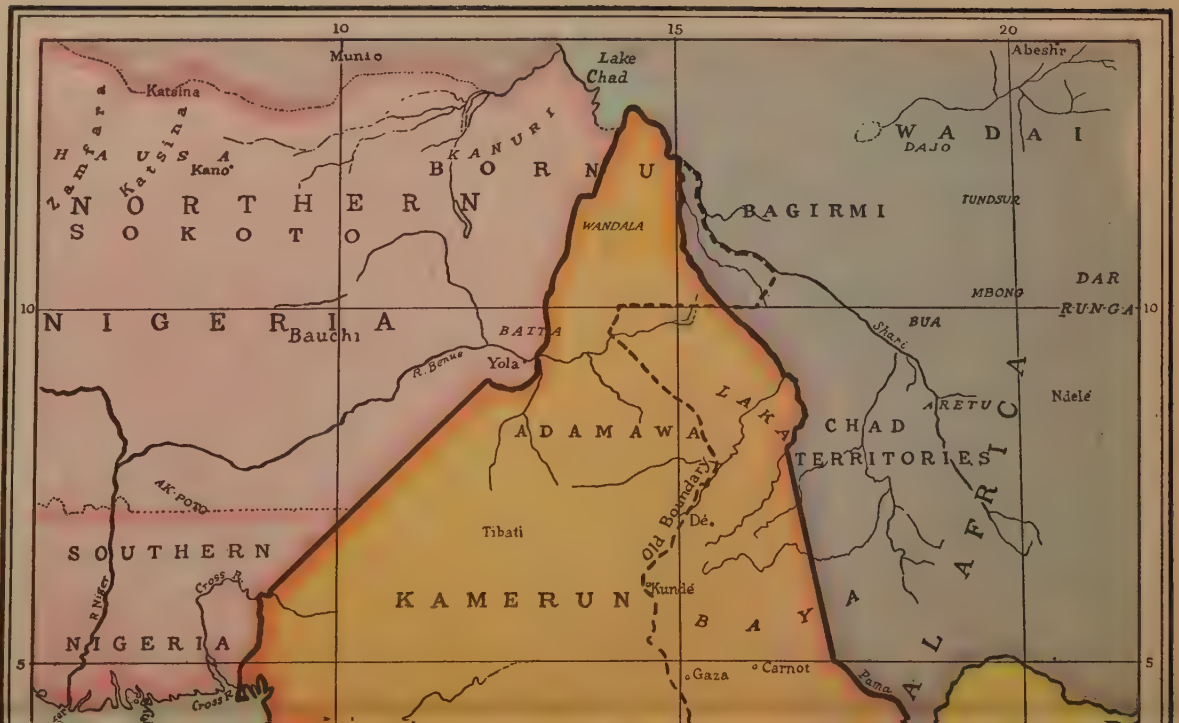
In 1912 only two independent states, Abyssinia and the tiny negro republic of Liberia, remain.

The Changing Status of Egypt.—Egypt has been, in all but name, a part of the British Empire since 1883. Great Britain's consular agent at Cairo has, more and more, come to be absolute ruler, de facto, of the modern land of the Pharaohs. Internal improvements of an economic and financial nature have marked British ascendency, while the diplomatic fiction of Turkey's suzerainty has been maintained. In 1898, at Omdurman, the Sirdar, Sir Herbert Kitchener, annihilated the forces of the fanatic Khalifa, and thenceforth the Sudan belonged to Egypt and England jointly. Generally speaking, the vast region has enjoyed peace and prosperity. Railways have been built and the waters of the Nile controlled in the interest of agriculture.

The Anglo-French agreement of 1904 marked the end of any European opposition to British control, and Lord Cromer was left free to thoroughly reorganize the finances. In 1907 this great proconsul resigned after what has been characterized as twenty-four years of benevolent despotism. There can be no doubt of the success of Britain's work in Egypt, judged from a material standpoint. In the more difficult problem of winning the confidence and love of the Egyptian people, however, England's consuls-general at Cairo have not yet scored their point. There are many reasons for this. The increased prosperity of the peasant is a fact, but this fact is largely discounted by the great rise in the cost of living. Large numbers of Egyptians resent the continued domination of a foreign power which has repeatedly promised to withdraw. The legislative council and the general assembly established by Lord Dufferin when he was viceroy (1883) have never possessed real authority. On the death of Tewfik in 1892 his son Abbas vainly endeavored to assert himself by choosing his own ministers. The Nationalist movement grew rapidly in the last year of Lord Cromer's rule, and found able leaders. The unpopularity of the British occupation was increased by the vindictive punishments inflicted on the Denshawi villagers in 1906 for an attack on British

officers and was further revealed by the assassination in 1909 of the Coptic premier, Boutros Pasha, and the rejection by the General Assembly of the government's proposals in regard to the Suez Canal. It was at this moment (May, 1910) that ex-President Roosevelt of the United States, returning from his hunting trip in Central Africa, addressed the British régime in Egypt and warned it of its failure to properly administer the government of a people like the Egyptians. Sir Eldon Gorst, who succeeded Lord Cromer (in 1909), was prepared to go somewhat further towards meeting the wishes of moderate Nationalism; but the British residents protested that his concessions were weakening British prestige. The situation became so threatening in 1910 that Sir Edward Grey announced in the House of Commons that there was no intention of evacuating Egypt and that attacks on the government would be sternly repressed. Sir Eldon Gorst was succeeded in 1911 by Lord Kitchener. As the Turko-Italian war proceeded, however, it became more and more evident that, despite the stern efficiency of Kitchener's administration, Britain's rule in Egypt was on increasingly precarious foundations.

France's African Empire.—For her loss in influence in Egypt, France has been more than compensated by the acquisition and consolidation of her vast empire in northern and northwestern Africa. Algeria was a conquest of Louis Philippe. Tunis was acquired later. The Treaty of Algeciras (1906) recognized the special rights of the republic in Morocco. The next year outrages by natives led to the occupation of Udja, a point near the Algerian frontier, and of Casablanca, and the Shawia district on the Atlantic coast. For years the French policy of " pacific penetration " had been quietly proceeding. Early in 1911 the Moorish Sultan, Mulai Hafid, was hard pressed by rebel tribes, and French troops were sent to Fez to restore his authority. Soon afterward, on July 1, the German gunboat, *Panther,* was sent to Agadir on the Atlantic coast. The German foreign office informed the Sultan and the European powers that this was done to protect German interests in the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HOW FRANCE AND GERMANY HAVE DIVIDED UP CENTRAL AFRICA.
(The Territory in Kamerun Between the Broken Line Marked "Old Boundary" and the Heavy Line to the Right is What France Ceded to Germany in Return for a Free Hand in Morocco.)

region. Then followed the long series of negotiations, potentially warlike in character, which are set forth in another chapter. The agreement was signed on November 4, 1911. By its terms Germany renounced all political interests in Morocco and practically agreed to the establishment of a French protectorate, receiving in exchange ample guarantees for "absolute equality in economic and commercial matters," and the cession of a considerable tract of country in the French Congo. Another treaty was made between France and the Sultan, defining the future position of the latter and his relations with France. Finally, negotiations were at once begun between France and Spain in regard to the Spanish sphere.

France's absorption of Morocco rounds out the African empire of the republic. All the vast territory to the south and east of the Moorish Sultan's domain has for more than a decade been included in the French sphere of influence.

The record of French explorers and soldiers in the opening up of this vast domain is a glorious one. The first advance into the interior was made from Senegal, on the west coast, by Faidherbe during the Second Empire, and in 1880, began a further move to the upper Niger, though Timbuctoo was not occupied till 1903. When the real scramble for Africa commenced, France determined to secure a foothold on the Guinea coast. The Ivory coast was annexed, the little kingdom of Dahomey was conquered, and, desiring that no European power should drive a wedge between her new empire on the Niger and her Mediterranean colonies, France obtained, in 1890, British recognition of her sphere of influence as far east as Lake Chad.

Farther south, French settlements had long existed on the Congo coast. De Brazza pushed far into the interior simultaneously with Stanley. When the Berlin Conference created the Congo Free State, France insisted on having a large part of the western and northern watershed. Starting from their new colony, the French Congo, missions pushed north to Lake Chad, thus opening up an all-French route to the Mediterranean. By

the Anglo-French Convention of 1899 Great Britain recognized French claims to Wadai. Thus, with the exception of Liberia and the European coast colonies, the whole of northwest Africa from Tunis to the Congo, and from Senegal to Lake Chad, including the vast Sahara, is now mapped as the French sphere of influence. France is in mileage the greatest African power. But, while she has done wonders in many sections, a large part of her claim is unconquered and even unexplored. On the other side of Africa, France has annexed Madagascar, which in 1896 became a French colony.

Italy's Descent on Tripoli.—Before France and Germany had come to an agreement over Morocco, the conflict had broken out between Italy and Turkey over Tripoli. War was declared by Italy on September 29, 1911. The city of Tripoli was bombarded on October 3 and 4, and on October 5 the Italian flag was raised on one of the forts. On October 11 the Italian expeditionary army under General Caneva landed. Derna was bombarded on October 16 and Benghazi on October 19. The Italians generally established themselves along the coast but were compelled to face many fierce attacks from the Arabs. Fighting continued all through November. On December 5 the Italians won in a general engagement which gave them complete possession of the oasis outside Tripoli. Their army of occupation devoted itself, besides fighting, to the general work of introducing sanitation, railroad building, and other improvements of European civilization.

The Dramatic Story of the Congo.—The largest state in Central Africa is the Belgian Congo. From the beginning of his reign, the late King Leopold II had followed the exploration of the Dark Continent with absorbing interest. At his invitation a Geographical Congress assembled at Brussels in 1876, from which resulted an International Association for the Civilization of Central Africa, with himself as president. Each nation was to undertake a section of the work. But the national committees became independent and the association itself was soon a purely Belgian body. A " Committee for the Study of the Upper Congo " was founded,

and in 1879 Stanley was dispatched to conclude treaties with the chiefs. In 1884, when forty stations had been founded and five steamers were on the river, the " Committee of Study " changed its name to the International Association of the Congo. Germany now recognized the Congo State (France and the United States having already done so) and issued invitations to a conference at Berlin to discuss questions of African colonization. The conference recognized the Congo State, and the Belgian king undertook to ameliorate the condition of the natives and to allow freedom of commerce.

Very soon Leopold began to violate his promises. Bit by bit he absorbed to the Belgian crown—that is, to himself—most of the resources of the vast region intrusted to him by Europe and his own people. His employees in the Congo were accused of mercilessly exploiting the natives and more than once international action against him was imminent.

When in 1897 a number of well-known Englishmen demanded an international conference to save the natives and the British government refused, the Congo Reform Association was founded. In 1903 Lord Lansdowne called the attention of the signatories of the Berlin act to the breaches of its provisions. King Leopold denied their right to intervene.

Criticism, both at home and abroad, however, became so insistent that in 1904 Leopold felt compelled to appoint a Commission of Inquiry. Its report revealed such deplorable conditions that sweeping reforms were at once promised, and in 1906 annexation to Belgium began to be discussed. A treaty was concluded in 1907 by which the Congo State was transferred to Belgium; but the opposition to the retention of the so-called " Domain of the Crown " led to an additional act in 1908 providing for its purchase. With the accession of King Albert in 1909 the prospects of the Congo seemed better. A new system of government was announced, and the abolition of forced labor was promised, and the Congo basin was gradually opened to foreign trade. France and Germany at once recognized the transfer, but the British and American governments withhold recogni-

tion till they are satisfied that the abuses have disappeared.

Germany's African Colonies.—The German colonies in Africa date from 1884. In 1878 a German branch of the International African Association was founded, and both the hinterland of Zanzibar and the southern Congo were explored. German power and prestige increased rapidly. The first definite step towards colonization was taken in Southwest Africa, where for many years German missionaries had worked among the Herreros. In 1886 the respective spheres of Great Britain, Germany, in Zanzibar were delimited. In 1890 Germany recognized a British protectorate over Zanzibar in return for the cession of Heligoland, and carried her own frontier to the Congo State. From that time German East Africa has had a fairly prosperous career. The fortunes of German Southwest Africa, on the other hand, have been checkered. Incessant conflict with the Hottentots filled the first decade; and after a peaceful interval a formidable and costly rebellion broke out in 1903 among the Herreros in the north, which was not quelled till 1908.

British Rule in the South.—The growth of British territory in Central Africa has been scarcely less rapid than in the north and south. But by far the greatest achievement has been the building up of Nigeria, which now stretches inland to the shores of Lake Chad. The Niger Coast Protectorate became Southern Nigeria, which was united to Lagos in 1906. In 1911 the railway reached Kano, nine hundred miles from the sea.

Undoubtedly the most important event in the recent history of the Dark Continent has been the building up of a great empire in South Africa under the British flag. The history of the Boer War is treated elsewhere in this work.

The capture of the Boer general, Cronje, in February, 1900, was the turning point. The Free State was quickly overrun and Bloemfontein was occupied. At the end of the same month the British general, Buller, after a bloody repulse at Spion Kop, relieved Ladysmith and drove the Boers out of Natal. Mafeking, heroically defended by Baden-Powell, was relieved in May, and in

June Lord Roberts occupied Johannesburg and Pretoria. Kruger fled to Europe, and the war entered on its final stage. The Boers fought not for victory but for honor. The Treaty of Vereeniging, signed in May, 1902, recorded the loss of their independence, but it granted terms which brave men like the Boers could accept without humiliation.

The Liberal party victory in England in 1906 was followed by important changes in South Africa. The further importation of Chinese was forbidden, and full self-government was granted to the republics. Racial bitterness steadily decreased when British and Dutch found themselves coöperating in the task of reconstruction. The Transvaal elections made General Botha premier with a composite cabinet. The Chinese, whose outbursts had caused terror in the environs of Johannesburg, were gradually repatriated.

There were now four self-governing colonies, the interests of which touched at many points. Questions of tariffs, railways, and immigration invited common action, and the greatest of all problems, that of the native races, suggested the union of the white governments. A convention met in secret session at Durban and later at Cape Town during the summer of 1908-1909 and framed a constitution, not federal but unitary, which was accepted by the colonies concerned and embodied in a statute by the British Parliament. General Botha, who was invited to form the first ministry, obtained a working majority at the elections, and the Union Parliament was opened in Cape Town in 1910.

LATIN AMERICA SINCE 1900

Celebrating a Century's Development.—The political and economic development of a decade in many parts of Latin America has been enormous.

In 1910 a full century had elapsed since the series of revolutions in the Latin-speaking republics of the new world threw off Spanish domination on the American

continent. In that year, beginning with Argentina and continuing northward to Mexico, the Latin Americans celebrated the centenary of their independence. An extensive exposition, held in May in Buenos Aires, the splendid, modern capital of Argentina, the second largest Latin city of the world, showed on a grand scale the progress of the continent for a hundred years in transportation and other industrial arts. Later Chile, in her capital, Santiago, opened her exposition of fine arts. In midsummer, beginning on July 9, the fourth Pan-American Conference, with more than one hundred delegates from twenty-one American nations, Spanish, English, and Portuguese speaking, assembled in the Argentine capital.

In 1906 Elihu Root, then American secretary of state, made a noteworthy tour of the Latin countries to the southward and found increasing realization of American continental solidarity. On April 5, 1910, Chile and Argentina celebrated the passage of the first train from Buenos Aires to Santiago through the Andean tunnel. The first Pan-American Conference was held in Washington, 1889; the second in Mexico City in 1901; the third in Rio in 1906. In 1890 the Bureau of the Pan-American Union was formed to facilitate intercourse and improve the spirit of friendly feeling among the nations.

The Revolution in Mexico.—The premier event of all Latin-American history during the decade beginning 1900 was the revolution in Mexico.

From 1877 to 1910, with the exception of four years (1880-1884), the great federal state of Mexico was governed by that stern warrior, General Porfirio Diaz. Under his rule British and American capital flowed in and peace was maintained. Diaz found his country marvelously rich in potential, mineral, and agricultural wealth, but involved in revolution, with a constitution that existed only on paper, little or no credit, inadequate transportation facilities, and few industries. Commercially his control brought staunch credit, railroads and steamship lines, factories, waterways, and agricultural development. Politically he silenced revolutions and made some progress toward realizing the paper promises of

the excellent Mexican constitution. But his long reign was frankly despotic and the Mexican people were kept from exercising, or even learning how to exercise their political rights. Elections were a farce. The country, moreover, was being developed, not by competitive free labor, but by a hideous system of peonage which was virtually slave toil.

On December 1, 1910, General Diaz took the oath of office for the eighth time as President of Mexico. There was apparently no opposition to his rule. Yet in the year that followed the entire organization and character of the government of the republic was changed. The change had begun from below. The Cientificos, adherents of Diaz, who by a feudal system controlled the material resources of the country, had suppressed the candidacy of Francisco Madero and caused the exile of General Bernardo Reyes, also a candidate. As soon as the popular excitement over the centennial celebrations (September, 1910) had subsided, a revolution led by Madero, broke out in the states near the American border, particularly in Chihuahua and Durango. Charges of aid from the United States were freely made.

As the revolutionary movement grew stronger the weakness of the central government was disclosed. The revolution spread to the southern states. Many cities were besieged. In February the United States government ordered 20,000 troops to mobilize on the Mexican frontier. On April 14 President Taft warned President Diaz that Mexico would be held responsible for the lives and property of American citizens. Rumors of intervention were rife, but the American hand was withheld with admirable restraint.

On April 1, 1911, in the Mexican Congress President Diaz announced that the government had agreed to forbid a president to succeed himself, and that it was prepared to reform the election laws and to initiate measures to satisfy the popular demands. The cabinet was changed at once, new blood displacing the Cientificos. Law courts and judges were to be made more independent of the central government, and the immense land properties were to be subdivided. These promises

came too late. The people demanded the immediate resignation of Diaz.

Negotiations were begun with Madero. Francisco de la Barra, at the time Mexican ambassador to the United States, was recalled and made foreign secretary. On April 23 a truce of five days was signed, during which negotiations were continued with Madero. Anarchy was beginning to spread throughout the country. Madero's party was by this time unwilling to accept the concessions for which they had at first contended. They demanded the resignation of President Diaz, of Vice-President Corral, and the entire cabinet. After the most serious battle of the campaign, Ciudad Juarez, a town on the American border, a custom house and the vital point of the revolution, finally capitulated to Madero on May 9. On May 21 peace was signed. On May 25 Diaz resigned his office as president and withdrew with Vice-President Corral and the cabinet, soon after leaving Mexico to live in Spain. De la Barra was immediately appointed provisional president and a new cabinet was announced. A special election for the presidency was proclaimed by Congress to take place October 1, 1911. Madero was proclaimed candidate for president, and José Pino Suarez, governor of Yucatan, won the nomination (September 2) for vice-president. On October 1 Madero was elected by about ninety-five per cent of all votes cast, Pino Suarez for vice-president receiving about thirty per cent of the votes. On November 4 de la Barra resigned, and November 6 Madero was inaugurated, Suarez becoming vice-president on November 23.

The process of reconstruction occupied the entire summer. The outlying districts could not be controlled easily and many of the cities were the scenes of occasionally bloody riots during which some foreigners lost their lives. In Mexico City and elsewhere there were numerous strikes, largely due to labor troubles, but partly of political origin. By the beginning of 1912 quiet was being restored and the outlook for steady improvement was bright.

The census, taken during October, 1910, showed that

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English Miles
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Dam
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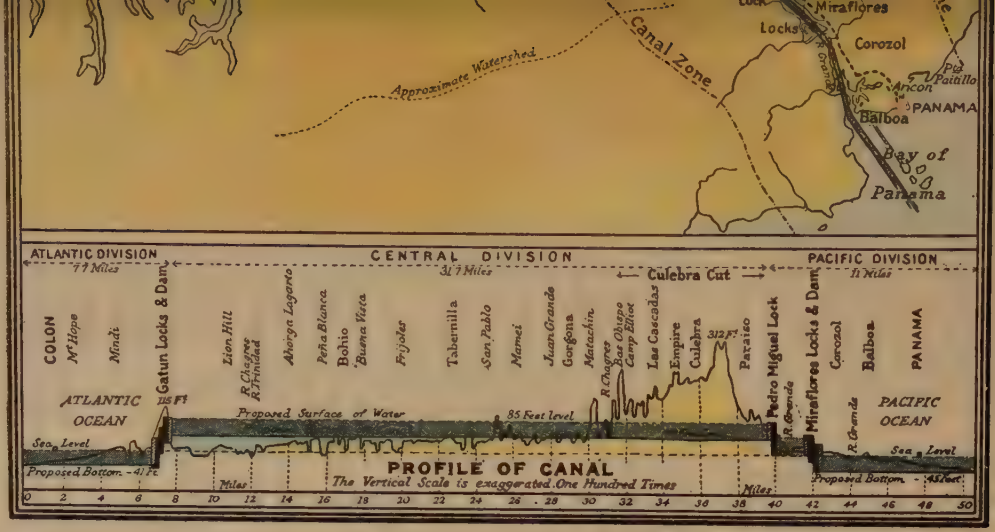
San Juan
Tranquilla
Las Campanas
El Viga
R. Indio
Alhuquela
R. Gatun
Tiger Hill
Lion Hill
G A T U N
L A K E
Bohio
Buena Vista
Frijoles
Canal Zone
Casa Larga
R. Chilibre
Limon
Tabernilla
S. Pablo
Las Cruces
Mamei
Gorgona
Matachin
Las Cascadas
Bas Obispo
Buena Vista
R. Trinidad
Approximate Watershed
Approximate Watershed



The Panama Canal, Showing the Limits of the Zone and Indicating the General Topography from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean.

the republic had a population of 15,063,207, an increase of 1,455,948 since 1900.

Turbulent Central America.—Mexico is the largest and most powerful of the Caribbean countries. There are a round dozen of them in all—Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. The history of all the republics of Central America has been made up chiefly of internal revolutions, efforts to escape retribution for their undischarged obligations to Europe, and their relations to the Monroe Doctrine.

The most important event in the history of Central America for a decade was the Conference of Washington in December, 1907, and the establishment of a permanent arbitral Court of Justice at Costa Rica. But nothing has as yet been arbitrated there, as the Central Americans seem disinclined to use the court.

In 1909, owing to injustice done to American citizens during a revolution against the tyrannical president Zelaya, there was a period of strained relations between the United States and Nicaragua. A sharp warning from the American secretary of state was instrumental in bringing about a new order in that turbulent republic. Nicaragua, as well as most of the other central American republics, has made but little progress. Costa Rica and Panama are honorable exceptions.

The history of Porto Rico since 1900 is partly that of the United States. Cuba once, in 1909, requested American intervention to save the republic from its domestic enemies. An American official supervises (since 1907) the collection of customs in the Dominican Republic and turns over to the foreign bondholders a certain specified proportion of the receipts.

Panama and the Canal.—The little republic of Panama has become of world interest and importance because the great Trans-Isthmian Canal crosses it. In 1901, by the negotiation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain, it became possible for the United States alone to build and control an inter-oceanic canal. The Hay-Herran Treaty of 1903, providing that the United States

take over the Panama Canal, was not ratified by the Colombian Congress. The Congress, which had been specially called for the purpose (there was no regular legislative government in Bogota in 1898-1903), adjourned on October 31. Three days later the independence of Panama, which had been a department of the republic of Colombia, was declared. Commander Hubbard of the United States gunboat *Nashville* at Colon forbade the transportation of troops across the Isthmus and landed marines to prevent the occupation of Colon by the Colombian troops. The diplomatic explanation of his action was that by the treaty of 1846 the United States had promised to keep the Isthmus open, and a civil war would have closed it. On November 7 Panama was virtually recognized by the United States, and on November 18 a treaty was signed between the two countries. In this treaty, Panama grants in perpetuity the use of a zone (Canal Zone) five miles wide on each side of the Canal route, and within this zone the exclusive control for police, judicial, sanitary, and other purposes. For the defense of the canal, the coast line of the zone and the islands in Panama Bay are also ceded. The cities of Panama and Colon remain under the authority of Panama, but complete jurisdiction is granted to the United States in both the cities and in their harbors in "all that relates to sanitation and quarantine." In return the United States promised to pay $10,000,000 immediately and $250,000 annually as rental, the first payment to be made nine years after the ratification of the treaty. The history of the work on the canal is given in the chapter on the United States. On January 4, 1904, two months after the declaration of Panaman independence, a constitutional assembly was elected, which met on January 15, adopted the constitution, and chose as president Manuel Amador Guerrero. At the election of 1912 Dr. Belisario Porras was chosen.

The future of Central America is uncertain. Federation, often discussed, is still far off, and war and insurrections have frightened foreign capital. The opening of the great canal may lead the United States to insist on a minimum standard of tranquillity.

A PROFILE VIEW OF THE PANAMA

WHEN COMPLETED AS IT WILL LOOK FROM
AIRSHIP

Venezuela and the Monroe Doctrine.—Latin America, with its immense resources and mixed population, has been saved from the fate of Africa by the Monroe Doctrine. The joint demonstration of Great Britain, Germany, and Italy against President Castro of Venezuela in 1903, which was watched with suspicion by the United States, illustrates this.

Castro, for eight years a dictator, ruled by corrupt and revolutionary methods, and in defiance of the obligations to the foreign creditors of the country. His despotic rule led to a blockade of the Venezuelan ports in 1903 by English, German, and Italian warships. Finding that diplomacy was of no avail the three powers unwillingly had recourse to coercion. Castro, however, sheltered himself behind the Monroe Doctrine and appealed to the government of the United States to intervene, although he had treated the interests of Americans in Venezuela with the same high-handed contempt for honesty and justice as those of Europeans. The dispute was finally referred by common consent to The Hague Court of Arbitration. In 1907, by the decision of The Hague Tribunal, the Venezuelan government was directed to pay the English, German, and Italian claims, although there was still a large sum—$840,000—due to other nationalities, which remained to be settled. The year 1907 was marked by the repudiation of the debt to Belgium and difficulties with the United States. Finally, in 1908, a dispute arose with Holland on the ground of the harboring of refugees in Curaçao. The Dutch minister was expelled, and Holland replied by the dispatch of gunboats, which destroyed the Venezuelan fleet and blockaded the ports. In December General Castro left upon a visit to Europe, nominally for a surgical operation. In his absence a rising against the dictator took place at Caracas, and his adherents were seized and imprisoned. Juan Vincenti Gomez, the vice-president, succeeded, being installed as president in June, 1910.

The attack on Venezuela by European powers prompted Dr. Drago, the foreign minister of Argentina, to demand the prohibition of armed intervention for the collection of debts. The so-called Drago Doctrine was

widely discussed, and at the second Hague Conference it was agreed that force should not be employed till the claims had been approved by arbitration and payment refused by the debtor state.

Progress of the South American Continent.—The eastern and western states of the southern continent have made considerable and in some cases rapid advance during recent years. Brazil has had military revolutions. But Rio has become a great city, and the resources of the vast country are only beginning to be tapped. More striking has been the career of Argentina, the second in size and the first in importance of South American states. She has attracted a large European population, chiefly Italian, and an enormous volume of foreign capital. She will soon be the greatest corn and meat exporting country in the world. Her comparatively temperate climate, rich plains, and easy water communications promise a future of almost boundless prosperity, and Buenos Aires, with a population of a million and a quarter, is already by far the largest city in South America. Chile, a strip of the Pacific coast two thousand miles long, has proved her enterprise, despite grave internal troubles. South America has a truly splendid future.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE FIRST DECADE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Assassination of President McKinley.—William McKinley entered for the second time upon the duties of the high office of President of the United States on March 4, 1901. The nation was on the crest of the wave of prosperity.

During the summer of 1901 a great fair, known as the Pan-American Exposition, was held at Buffalo, New York. On September 6, during an informal reception on the fair grounds, McKinley was shot by an anarchist named Czolgosz. The wound was fatal, and he died on September 14.

McKinley's final biographers will write him down as

a man of high moral character, without much initiative, a shrewd judge of human nature, able to read public sentiment and cautious not to antagonize it; prone to follow opinion rather than to lead it.

Theodore Roosevelt, President.—Theodore Roosevelt, who had been elected Vice-President, took the oath of office as President of the United States. He announced his purpose to retain the McKinley cabinet and to continue the McKinley policies. Roosevelt was by nature impulsive, self-assertive, aggressive. He had become a member of the New York legislature in 1882; had been a member of the National Civil Service Commission in 1889-95, then police commissioner of New York, assistant secretary of the navy in 1897, a volunteer in the war with Spain, governor of New York in 1898, and Vice-President in 1901. He was also the youngest man ever in the Presidential office, being only forty-three.

The first noteworthy public act of the new President was in 1902. An extensive coal strike in the anthracite mining regions of Pennsylvania had thrown 15,000 miners out of work and produced a coal famine. The President unofficially called the officials of union labor and the mine owners into a conference at Washington, where they were led to sign an agreement, calling off the strike for two years. A permanent board of arbitration for the coal industry was established.

Digging the Panama Canal.—In January, 1902, President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress with recommendations looking toward the construction of an Isthmian Canal, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. For fifty years this project had been under consideration by various nations, and in 1850 the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty had been made by the United States and Great Britain with a trans-isthmian canal in view. The Nicaraguan route was then most favorably regarded. Later, in France, a company was organized, and large amounts of money put into a proposed similar enterprise at Panama, which, however, ended in failure. Congress authorized the purchase of the French interest for forty million dollars, appropriating a hundred and seventy million dollars for the construction of the

canal across the Isthmus of Panama. A long delay was experienced in concluding a treaty with Colombia, of which Panama was then a state. The inhabitants of Panama soon seceded from Colombia, setting up an independent republic. Within three or four days the United States recognized the independence of Panama, and all difficulties relative to beginning work on the canal were settled. For what was termed in some quarters the improper haste of the United States in recognizing the new republic the President was criticised.

Activities preparatory to beginning the construction of the canal were started in the early spring of 1904. A year was consumed in the work of sanitation and organization. The canal will be neutral water, available for the vessels of all nations, and can never be blockaded. The total expense to the United States when completed in 1915 was expected to exceed three hundred million dollars. The enterprise is the biggest undertaking of modern times and will materially affect the commercial and shipping interests of the world.

In 1903 a ninth member was added to the President's cabinet, in the person of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. In 1903 also the much discussed question of the Alaska-Canadian boundary was settled by arbitration with Great Britain.

The year 1903 was the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase. The following year this historic fact was commemorated on a most magnificent scale at St. Louis, Missouri. The St. Louis world's fair of 1904 was held on grounds the area of which was twelve hundred and forty acres, and the expense of the fair was fully ten millions greater than at Chicago. It was visited by about twenty million people. In this year also the first submarine Pacific cable was completed, from San Francisco, to Hawaii, to Guam and the Philippines.

The Election of 1904.—President Roosevelt's vigorous policies had antagonized the captains of industry who spoke for the corporate interests representing great aggregations of capital, and they made plans to prevent his reëlection. The prosecution by Attorney General

Knox of the Northern Securities " merger " (in 1904) and its dissolution alarmed and exasperated the directors of large corporations, who sought to discredit the President's policies as revolutionary and a menace to national prosperity. At the Republican National Convention, at Chicago on June 21, however, Roosevelt was nominated by acclamation, and Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, was named for second place. The platform gave an unreserved indorsement of Roosevelt's policies. On July 6, at St. Louis, the Democrats nominated Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, a gold Democrat. Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia, eighty years of age, was named for the Vice-Presidency. President Roosevelt was elected by an overwhelming majority.

In the beginning of his second term, in 1905, international publicity and much excitement was caused by an official investigation of the great life insurance companies of New York. The investigation showed that though there had been misuse of millions of trust funds, these mammoth institutions were perfectly solvent with many millions of surplus. The wholesale dismissal of the culpable officers, stringent legislation for strict supervision, and regulation of the insurance business, and a material reduction in the ultimate cost of insurance was the result of the investigations.

The San Francisco Earthquake and Fire.—On April 18, 1906, the whole world was startled by news of a terrible catastrophe at San Francisco. This city of almost half a million people was laid in ruins by the most severe earthquake ever known on the continent and the fire that followed. The startling eruption of Mt. Vesuvius earlier in the same month had given evidence of seismic disturbances, but at San Francisco and vicinity the disturbances were vastly greater. The earthquake cut off communication with the rest of the world by wire and rail and thousands of destitute persons were left in the streets and the parks. Millions in money and food and clothes were at once sent from all over the world to the sufferers. Immediate steps were taken to rebuild on a grand scale what should be known as the " new " San Francisco, and the rapidity and magnificence of the re-

construction of the ruined city of the Golden Gate are regarded as a marvel of American energy.

In August a rebellion broke out in Cuba, and President Palma requested the United States to intervene. Mr. Roosevelt promptly responded with an armed force, and peace was quickly restored. On August 9, 1906, Russian and Japanese envoys, in response to an invitation from the President, met at Portsmouth Navy Yard to agree upon a treaty of peace, terminating the Russo-Japanese War. The treaty was signed on September 5.

The Fifty-ninth Congress had enacted a good deal of important legislation. After a bitter struggle between the President and Congress the Railroad Rate Act was passed in a modified form, authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix maximum rates, leaving to the railroads the right of appeal to the courts. It prohibits discrimination in freight or passenger traffic and has had an extensive effect for the betterment of the railroad traffic of the country. Another most important and far-reaching law enacted by the Fifty-ninth Congress was the Pure Food Law, applying to all interstate trade and providing a penalty for adulterations, misbrands, and use of poisons in foods and drugs. The new Congress elected in 1906 showed a decided falling off in the Republican majority.

The Vexed Question of Japanese Immigration.—At this time the question of Asiatic immigration into the Pacific Coast States aroused much discussion. The Japanese, not included in the drastic Chinese Exclusion Act, had been crossing the Pacific, chiefly from Hawaii, in increasing numbers. For years public sentiment on the coast had been crystallizing against them, and the subject was lifted into international prominence by a comparatively trifling incident in San Francisco. The school board of that city passed an ordinance excluding Japanese children from the public schools attended by white children. A treaty between the United States and Japan guaranteed to Japanese residing in America equal treatment with natives. In October, 1906, the Japanese ambassador at Washington entered a protest against the

discriminating act of the San Francisco school board. President Roosevelt quickly saw the danger to the national peace and brought about a conference with California officials which resulted in a rescinding of the order of the San Francisco school board. A clause was embodied in the immigration law, signed on February 20, authorizing the President to refuse to admit laborers from the insular possessions or from the Panama Canal Zone. The problem, for the time at least, was solved, as the Japanese government did not issue passports authorizing Japanese laborers to come directly to the United States.

During the summer of 1907 a memorable exposition was held in Virginia to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America. The most notable world event of the year 1907, however, was the second meeting of the World's Peace Tribunal at The Hague, on June 15, 1907, nearly fifty countries being represented. While the conference was in session, on July 30, the cornerstone was laid of a magnificent Peace Palace at The Hague, due to the generosity of the American philanthropist, Mr. Andrew Carnegie. In the fall of 1907 there occurred a disastrous financial panic, accompanied by a severe industrial depression. The great industries of the country became demoralized, and half a million men were thrown out of work. Recovery came only slowly. In this year also the new state of Oklahoma was admitted to the Union, and the first Philippine Assembly was held at Manila.

The Elections of 1908. Taft President.—The campaign of 1908 included elections for President, members of Congress, and many State governors. The Republicans began to discuss Roosevelt for a second elective term, but on December 11, 1907, the President reaffirmed a statement that he had issued on election night in 1904, that under no circumstances would he be a candidate for reëlection at that time. The Republican convention met in Chicago on June 16, and two days later Mr. Taft, Secretary of War, who had been governor of the Philippines, was nominated on the first ballot. James S.

Sherman, of New York, who had long been a representative in Congress, was selected for Vice-President. The Democratic convention met in Denver on July 6. On the first ballot William Jennings Bryan received about nine-tenths of the votes. John W. Kern, of Indiana, was named for second place on the ticket. The platforms of the two great parties had many points in resemblance. Each promised a better administration of the government. On the tariff both parties promised that a downward revision would be made. The result of the election was a victory for Mr. Taft, he receiving three hundred and twenty-one electoral votes to one hundred and sixty-two for Bryan. The Socialists made heavy gains, polling about four hundred and fifty thousand votes. Among the measures passed by the Congress then elected were the Employer's Liability Law and the Emergency Currency Law. Congress also at this session, which ended on May 30, appropriated $29,000,000 for the Panama Canal and remitted $10,800,000 of the Chinese indemnity from the Boxer uprising of 1900. This greatly pleased the people of China, and their government decided to expend the income from this sum, or a large part of it, in sending Chinese students to the United States to be educated.

Revising the Tariff. The Payne-Aldrich Bill.—The one great subject before the American people in the spring and summer of 1910 was the revision of the tariff, for which a special session of Congress had been called. Almost immediately a comprehensive tariff bill was introduced in the House by Representative Payne, of New York. It reduced the highly protective duties on many necessaries of life, and provided for an inheritance tax. But the "interests" had become aroused. They exerted their influence successfully on the Senate, and the Payne-Aldrich tariff became one of the most highly protective measures ever passed by an American Congress. It was not a revision downward; the average duties were slightly increased.

A loud protest came from all parts of the country on the passage of this tariff measure. The Republican party at once began to lose ground, and in the fall of 1910

the Republican majority in the House was swept away and replaced by a larger Democratic majority.

The year 1909 will be remembered for the rapid development of aërial navigation. The Wright Brothers, of Dayton, Ohio, were among the first to succeed in flying, without the use of gas and using a machine heavier than air. At the same time others in different parts of the world were successful almost simultaneously with these American inventors.

A memorable cruise of an American fleet, under command of Admiral "Fighting Bob" Evans, was made around the world, ending in February, 1909. In December, 1907, the fleet had been sent around Cape Horn to the coast of California, thence it proceeded across the Pacific, visiting Australia and Japan and many other oriental points, returning by way of the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean. The entire trip had covered about forty-five thousand miles and was unmarred by a single accident.

The interest of the autumn of 1910 centered in the Congressional and State elections. For many months there had seemed to be a general trend away from the Republican party, chiefly because of the disappointment of the country in the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Immediately on the passage of that tariff law there was a serious disaffection in the party. Many senators and representatives, men of advanced political views, who came to be known as "Insurgents" or "Progressives," protested vigorously against the tariff and many other administration measures. The election of November 8, 1910, showed great Democratic gains in almost every part of the country. The Senate still remained Republican, but with a reduced majority. The political complexion of the House was changed, a Republican majority of over fifty being replaced by a Democratic majority of sixty. Mr. Cannon's stormy career as speaker came to an end, and Champ Clark, a Missouri Democrat, was chosen for that office. Perhaps the most striking personal victory of the campaign was the election of Dr. Woodrow Wilson as governor of New Jersey. Dr. Wilson had been an educator and a student and writer on many subjects,

and at the time of his nomination was president of Princeton University.

The thirteenth decennial census of the United States was taken in the spring of 1910. The figures showed a large increase in the population of the great cities. New York, the second largest city in the world, showed a growth of thirty-nine per cent, an increase from 3,347,202 in 1900 to 4,766,883 in 1910. The total population of continental United States by the census of 1910 was 91,972,266, an increase in ten years of 15,977,691, or twenty-one per cent.

In 1910 Congress provided for the later admission of New Mexico and Arizona as states. They were accordingly admitted in 1912.

Government Actions against the Trusts.—In November, 1906, the government began suit against the Standard Oil Company, charging that this vast corporation was violating the Sherman Anti-Trust law and ought to be dissolved. On November 20, 1909, the court decided that the company was an illegal corporation and ordered its dissolution. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and after more than a year and a half the decision came, on May 15, 1911, sustaining the lower court, and dissolving the great corporation. Two weeks later (May 29) the Supreme Court rendered its decision in the case of the American Tobacco Company, a decision second in importance only to that of the Standard Oil. In this case also the court decided that the company was illegal and ordered its dissolution.

In the short session ending March 4, President Taft placed before Congress a reciprocity treaty with Canada. After some months of negotiation the two countries agreed on sweeping changes in their trade relations, many articles produced by either country and needed by the other being put on the free list. Failing to secure action on their measure in the regular session, the President called a special session to meet on April 4. The new Congress passed the reciprocity agreement on July 22.

In Canada the reciprocity agreement finally brought about the dissolution of Parliament and a new election.

Reciprocity was made out by the opposition leaders to be a first step to annexation by the United States and the spirit of loyalty to Great Britain was invoked successfully. The Canadians voted on September 21, reciprocity was defeated by a large majority—a veritable landslide—and a new ministry under R. L. Borden came into power.

Two general treaties of arbitration between the United States on one hand and England and France on the other were both signed on the same day, August 3, 1911, that with England at Washington, and that with France at Paris. The Senate, however, failed to ratify them.

The Presidential Campaign of 1912.—This was made memorable by its many new features. A number of states had adopted presidential preference primary laws, election contests, as it were, within the parties, to determine the candidates. Other states still clung to the old convention plan. Dissatisfied with President Taft's record and with the ultra-conservative attitude of most of the Republican leaders, many of the more progressive members of the party prevailed upon ex-President Theodore Roosevelt to be their candidate and he at last consented. In the twelve Republican states in which presidential preference primaries were established by law, the total vote as cast for President Taft was slightly over 758,000 and the combined Roosevelt and La Follette vote just above 1,513,000, of which 1,180,000 were for Roosevelt. The Republican convention met in Chicago on June 18. There was a dramatic contest over the nomination. Finally, the old-line "Stand-pat" leaders, fearing the new radicalism of Roosevelt, having control of the National Committee, were able, by shrewd political maneuvering, to renominate President Taft. They also named Vice-President Sherman to succeed himself. The Roosevelt supporters withdrew from the convention hall and formed the nucleus of a new party. On August 5, in an enthusiastic mass convention at Chicago in which women participated, the new Progressive party was born. Roosevelt was named for President and Governor Hiram Johnson of California for Vice-President. The Democrats met at Baltimore on June 25. Mr. Bryan

dominated the proceedings. There were many fruitless ballots, but finally Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey was nominated for President with Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana as his second.

During the period under consideration the American people have been chiefly engrossed in solving problems of an economic nature, particularly those involving the readjustment of the relations of great wealth to the community. They have also been coming into a fuller realization of the need of a wider democracy and a larger, more intelligent participation in the settlement of world problems.

THE ADVANCE OF LIBERALISM

Disestablishment, Socialism, and Feminism.—During the first decade of the twentieth century liberalism made gigantic strides all over the world. Feudal institutions had been slowly but surely crumbling since the outbreaks of 1848, under the successive, insistent demands of modern life and an awakening democracy. The first years of the century were marked by progress in liberalism along three especially impressive lines. First, there was the complicated and painful operation of the separation of church and state, of the disestablishment of religious institutions which is taking place all over the world. It has been achieved in France, and is now in the slow process of accomplishment in Spain, Portugal, and other Latin countries. Britain herself has a disestablishment problem on her hands in Wales. The second phase has been the amazing growth of Socialism. The third is that portentous development of our twentieth-century life known as the woman problem.

Separation of Church and State.—The struggle of governments and peoples to free themselves from the political and economic burden of an established church has been one of the most bitterly contested of a century past. It will not be denied by modern secularists and churchmen alike in the countries where church and state are united,

that in the long run, not only the state but the church itself would greatly benefit by the separation.

In Latin Europe and Austria-Hungary there is a church organization, a hierarchy, which has survived from the days when the church and the state were literally one. The members of this organization, in countries where disestablishment has not yet been accomplished, are recognized as quasi-public officials. The organization itself, moreover, is in possession of land, treasure, and other material property.

The advance of modern education and of liberal ideas in economics and politics demands that the administration of government shall be increasingly responsive and responsible to the people who are governed, with no interference or control by any outside power. All over the continent of Europe public opinion, as expressed in the opinions and the legislative acts of parliaments, demands that sovereign power shall reside in, and only in, the government. How shall the present order of a fealty divided between the home government and the Holy See at Rome be changed without doing grave injustice to many innocent and worthy persons, violating rights long established by custom and agreement, and throwing upon a cold, unsympathetic world many righteous men and women, who all their lives have been engaged in works of charity and unselfishness? This is the problem of disestablishment.

Constitutions and Concordats.—In the Latin countries of Europe the relations between the Roman Catholic authorities and the secular government are regulated by a treaty known as a Concordat. Most of these treaties were concluded early in the nineteenth century when modern constitution-making began in Europe. Then it was that the Church of Rome began to lose its temporal power and was forced, unhappily and reluctantly, to seek political protection for the material interests it still possessed; to bargain and deal by diplomatic methods with secular governments often hostile and sometimes openly anti-Christian. Opposition to this anomalous state of affairs increased as democracy achieved its triumphs. Finally the movement for separation became the

dominant issue in more than one continental country. France was the first of the Latin nations to accomplish this separation.

The Separation Law in France.—The vote on the law which brought about the separation of the church from the state in France will probably mark a capital date in French history. During the very first session of the twentieth century the French parliament was chiefly occupied with the passing of what is known as the Associations Law. It was just at the close of the fierce excitement over the Dreyfus affair. It had been charged by the anti-clericals that the religious associations of the Roman Catholic Church had exercised undue influence in the campaign which convicted Dreyfus. The Associations Law, as finally adopted, although it entirely changed the legal position of all associations in France, was primarily directed, and admittedly so, against the religious associations of the Roman Catholic Church. Premier Waldeck-Rousseau announced in the Chamber of Deputies that, despite their precarious legal position, the religious orders had grown sixfold since their nominal suppression by Jules Ferry (in the early eighties) and that their property was estimated at more than $40,000,000. The government had decided that official authorization was henceforth to be required for any association, political, social, or religious, consisting of more than twenty persons. The great religious orders had never received such authorization and they had grown rapidly in numbers and wealth.

The Associations Bill was introduced early in 1901, and after long debate finally enacted into law on July 2 of that year. It gave the right to association for legal purposes without restriction, but prescribed that religious congregations could only be formed by special statute. The rules of each order, furthermore, were to be submitted to the government for approval. No member of an unauthorized order could teach in any school. In his statement M. Waldeck-Rousseau denied that the bill was in any sense an attack on religion. There was no desire, he insisted, for the wholesale suppression of the orders. Each case was to be decided on its merits.

Several orders failed to regularize their position and each was at once declared illegal and marked for suppression.

After the general elections in May, 1902, M. Waldeck-Rousseau resigned. His successor, M. Emile Combes, was an anti-clerical whose zeal amounted almost to fanaticism. He continued the campaign against the associations with a harshness that provoked condemnation by the author of the law himself. M. Combes ordered the closing of schools opened in private buildings on the ground that they were conducted by members of religious associations. In 1904 he brought about the enactment of another law which forbade members of authorized orders to teach at all. He also suppressed schools conducted by the orders which had not applied for official sanction. All this frequently involved exile and poverty for many worthy individuals. The premier had always maintained that the law was meant for monastic orders, not for the priests. The logical outcome of the Associations Law, however, in this final analysis, it soon became evident, was the separation of church and state. This policy had been disavowed by M. Combes' predecessors. Nevertheless, Combes himself was known to be in favor of it, and after " l'Affaire Dreyfus " the demand for separation became more insistent.

In the summer of 1903 Pope Leo XIII was succeeded by Pope Pius X. The wise statesmanship of Leo, ably seconded by the sagacious diplomacy of Cardinal Rampolla as papal secretary of state, was followed by the less cautious frankness of the new prelate through the channels of the new reactionary papal secretary of state Cardinal Merry del Val. Premier Combes began to handle the matter more radically. He challenged the wording of the papal bulls appointing bishops, contending that the papacy had no choice; it was compelled under the Concordat to appoint the candidate nominated by the government. A deadlock ensued. Combes then threatened to abrogate the Concordat. The Pope publicly denounced the tendencies of the French government; he even protested when President Loubet, in April, 1904, paid a return visit to King Victor Em-

manuel in Rome. The Combes ministry replied by calling back the French ambassador to the Vatican. Then the Pope ordained two bishops without consulting the government at Paris. The French premier retorted by withdrawing even the French chargé d'affaires at the Vatican and requesting the recall of the papal nuncio from Paris.

The first Napoleon, in his endeavor to smooth out the relations between his government and the Roman Church, had restored much of the latter's authority in 1801. The Concordat which he brought about, however, reserved large powers to the French executive. These were exercised through the century during which the arrangement lasted, although never accepted by the Pope. His Holiness Pius X and Emile Combes were both too radical enemies of compromise to permit such an arrangement to last further. A committee from the Chamber of Deputies was appointed in the autumn of 1904 to inquire into the question of complete separation of church and state. This committee, under the chairmanship of M. Aristide Briand, a Socialist lawyer and afterwards premier of the republic, made a speedy report. Proposals based on this document were presented in Parliament and enacted into law before the end of 1905. Although the Combes ministry fell even before discussion began, its policy was carried out.

The Separation Law guaranteed liberty of conscience and the free exercise of public worship. It declared that henceforth the republic neither recognized nor repudiated any form of religion, except in the case of chaplains of public institutions. The property of all religious organizations, of which an inventory was to be made by the state, was to be transferred to the Association of Public Worship. The older clergy were to have their salaries continued for life, in some other cases according to the length of service. These arrangements applied not only to the Roman Catholic Church and priests, but also to the Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis, who had likewise received salaries from the state, and who, though loyal to the republic, suffered with the rest.

The main feature of the law was the Association Cultuelle (Association of Public Worship) established in each commune in accordance with the rules of the religion which they represented for the purposes of carrying on the practice of that religion. The Protestants and Jews, and with few exceptions the French Roman Catholic bishops, approved of this scheme. The Pope, however, after a good deal of consideration, forbade the formation of these associations. The clergy were compelled to submit to their ecclesiastical superiors. The taking of the inventories of the church property then proceeded. There were frequent conflicts in which the troops had, at times, to interfere, and valuable resources passed out of the hands of the clergy into the control of the state. There was much condemnation of the harshness exhibited, and moderate Republicans like Briand, who became minister of education and public worship in the Clémenceau cabinet in 1906, showed their sincere sympathy by administering the law with very marked moderation.

The Problem of Church and State in Spain.—The separation problem in Spain was similar to, but not identical with that with which France has had to deal. The Concordat between Spain and the Vatican regulating the relations between church and state was concluded in 1851. This agreement asserts that the Roman Church shall be the state religion of Spain. It provides, further, for the restoration to the Church of all confiscated property that had not been sold when the agreement was made; declares the Church's right to acquire property; puts education and the censorship of the press under the supervision of the bishops; provides for a tax to be used for the support of the Church (approximately $8,000,000 is raised annually for this purpose); and limits the number of monastic orders to three. This instrument has been modified in several ways by different national constitutions adopted since 1851, although so far as the consent of Rome is concerned it is still binding in its entirety upon the Spanish government. One of the most important modifications made in this Concordat by national legislation in Spain permits of liberty of

worship, under certain conditions, to dissenting Spaniards, as well as to foreigners. Another makes the press nominally free. A third deals in detail with the number of monastic orders permitted in Spain. A fourth has permitted the establishment of a few lay schools. These are chiefly in Barcelona and are accused by clerical sympathizers of teaching principles of atheism and anarchy. It was for maintaining a school charged with spreading such doctrines that Ferrer was executed on October 13, 1909. A number of Spanish ministers had attempted to bring about other modifications, but it was not until the premiership of Canalejas in February, 1910, that negotiations were actually begun between the Spanish government and the Vatican for a revision of the Concordat.

Influence of the Religious Orders.—The main issue of the rupture was the general attitude of Señor Canalejas, in which he was soon known to be supported by King Alfonso, toward the religious orders, which numbered 100,000 in a population of 18,000,000. After the friars had withdrawn from the Philippines and the "Congregations" had been expelled from France, the religious societies multiplied rapidly in Spain. The so-called monastic orders are permitted to engage in trade without being taxed like their secular brethren. It is claimed by the Spanish Liberals that the so-called "church factory," not subject to taxation, competes at an unfair advantage with many of the industries of Spain, which are struggling against great odds. That these orders are excessive in numbers and have undue influence in Spain even the Vatican authorities now freely admit. In 1902 the government at Madrid passed a law requiring the registration of all religious associations or orders. This law was very generally evaded. Soon after Premier Canalejas came into office, he issued (March 18), with the king's consent, a decree directing provincial governors to compel the orders to register as required by law. The Spanish bishops protested and carried the matter to the Vatican.

In May and June, 1910, by a number of decrees prepared by the premier and the Cortes, King Alfonso

limited the number of religious associations in Spain, and gave to all denominations an equal position before the law. This legislation provided for the complete supervision of religious societies by the state without consulting the Vatican, and made all authorized orders, in common with the lay inhabitants of the country, subject to all provisions of the laws. On December 23, 1910, Señor Canalejas succeeded in forcing through the Cortes the so-called "Padlock bill," which prohibited the establishment of any new religious congregations in Spain for two years, by which time it was hoped an understanding could be arrived at between the Madrid government and the authorities at the Vatican.

The Portuguese Republic and the Vatican.—Portugal's dispute with the Vatican revolved around the action of the papal secretary of state in suppressing a Portuguese ecclesiastical review for some comment on political matters. This action was regarded by the Lisbon government as an interference in domestic affairs. The difficulty was increased by the introduction of a bill into the Portuguese Parliament by the minister of justice providing for the civil registration of births, deaths, and marriages. Up to that time such registration had been an important source of income for the clergy. When the republic was established immediate separation of church and state was one of the demands of the radical Republicans. The Jesuits and other orders were rather rudely expelled from the country. The Church separation law, which was promulgated on April 19, 1911, provided that the Catholic Church should cease to be the religion of the state, that henceforth it should be maintained by the offerings of its own members, that the state should assume control of all property belonging to churches and congregations, and that the accounts of the Church should be under fiscal supervision. In return church buildings and other property necessary for worship would be given back to the clergy, each holder of such a benefice, on July 1, 1911, would continue to receive a stipend from the state, and new appointments would require the consent of the government. The Vatican authorities have so far refused to

recognize the validity of this law, and on March 21, 1911, a Papal Encyclical was issued denouncing it.

Welsh Disestablishment.—Britain also has a problem of separation on her hands, the disestablishment of the Welsh Church. It has long been held by the liberals generally and by the masses of the Welsh people that the established Church in Wales is an alien church made up of English officials. The demand for disestablishment culminated in the introduction of the bill in the autumn of 1911 for the complete disestablishment of the Church. This was looked upon in many quarters as a prelude to the eventual disestablishment of the Church of England.

The Rapid Advance of Socialism.—It has been said by one brilliant writer that Socialism is a ferment which is slowly but surely disintegrating the three hierarchies forming the basis of present-day European civilization; the hierarchy of privileged government; the hierarchy of standing armies; and the hierarchy of private property. This ferment has already worked its way into parliaments and congresses and is leavening all monarchies with the leaven of democracy. The soldier, whatever his nationality, is beginning to think of a new internationalism, and the so-called proletariat all over the world has revolted against the domination of centralized wealth. In every country we see Socialist parties active in furthering reforms for bettering the condition of the masses.

With the attainment of a real democratic franchise has come the demand for greater economic equality. In Germany Socialists work for a graduated income tax; against excessive armaments, excessive taxation, and imperialism. In France Socialists fight for social justice; for the rights of the Jews, as in the Dreyfus case; for the separation of church and state; and for the general improvement of the workers. In Belgium they have erected a magnificent Temple of Labor (Maison du Travail), a sort of people's university, which gives the workingman an opportunity to widen his horizon to science, literature, and art. In all countries they fight for a wider and fuller participation of the masses of the people in the functions of government.

German Socialism in the Fore.—Germany has always led in the Socialist movement of the world. The fatherland is only beginning to show the inevitably destructive consequences of an unnatural militarism. German Socialism is the protest against the prevailing military and political system. Restrictive laws and the employment of force have failed under William II, as they did under William I and Bismarck, to prevent the extension of Socialism. All efforts at suppression must be abortive as long as the chief causes remain. In 1872 there were but two Socialists in the Reichstag. There were forty-four in 1893 and fifty-four in 1898. In 1874 the Socialists polled only 340,000 votes. In 1890 they polled 1,427,000; in 1893, 1,786,000; and in 1898, 2,120,000. No other political party that year could muster so many adherents. The gain went on. In the general election of January, 1912, the Socialists won 110 members of the Reichstag and more than four million and a quarter votes.

Political Socialism.—The real strength of the German Socialist party is far greater than its representation in the Reichstag. The basis of the franchise in the larger German states, notably Prussia, is unfair and illogical. With the election districts properly apportioned the German Parliament would in 1912 have had 212 Socialist members instead of 110. In the election of 1912 seventeen of the Conservative members were returned to the Reichstag by a total vote of 186,213, while in one district the Socialists elected but one delegate with a vote of 162,717, almost as large as that of all the seventeen Conservative districts combined.

With an eagle eye the German Social Democracy watches all passing events, ready to seize every advantage and follow it up. With no actual majority in city or state it has brought about many effective popular reforms. Its method has been to exert unceasing pressure upon the other parties. The disciplined and organized army of German Social Democrats, with a camp in each city, town, and center of population, had 530,000 members in 1907, 587,000 in 1908, 633,000 in 1909, 722,000 in 1910, and 836,000 in 1911. It has an annual

income of about $275,000. This political army is buttressed by a vast organization of labor unions almost equal in strength to the British trades-unions. In 1909 they numbered 1,852,000.

" The heavy battalions of the German Social Democracy march methodically forward, they make no mistakes, no false manœuvers, and occupy city after city, village after village. They are preparing a new Sedan for the Kaiser, a new republic for the Germans. And the Kaiser knows it. The German victory is not only a triumph for German liberty but also for the peace of the world."

The Struggle for Universal Suffrage.—Universal suffrage is a very important issue in many European countries. The fight for it is carried on largely by the Socialists, and in some countries they have met with complete success. In 1912 they gained such a victory in Sweden. The methods employed there were almost the same as those which won the popular vote for Austria. The Socialists frightened the lukewarm Liberals and even the Conservatives into action. They carried on incessant agitation, and as a last resort made use of the general strike. In Austria the immediate result of the granting of the suffrage in 1906 was an increase of the Socialist representation in parliament from eleven to eighty-seven. In Sweden in the recent election they augmented their representation in the Riksdag from thirty-five to sixty-four and helped to elect several Liberals besides.

Socialism in the United States.—Political and industrial conditions being so different in Europe from what they are in the United States, the Socialist problem is somewhat different. Victor Berger, the lone Socialist in the Congress of the United States, has introduced a very modern bill for pensioning workingmen, as a mere propaganda measure, knowing it could not yet be passed. In Germany, on the other hand, every workman earning less than five hundred dollars must be insured not only against old age but also against accident and sickness. Laws of a similar kind have been passed in France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, and, more re-

cently, in England and in Germany. Most European countries have Socialistic laws for the protection of workmen in mines, factories, and workshops, for effective sanitary regulations, for the prevention of female employment in trades particularly injurious to women. The labor laws are, as a rule, actually enforced, the result, it is claimed, largely of the watchfulness of the Socialists. The Socialist administrations of Milwaukee, Schenectady, and the various other American cities that have turned " red " within the last two years will have to grapple with problems many of which were solved by the Socialists in hundreds of European municipalities twenty years ago. Municipal gas, electric, and telephone service, municipal car lines, laundries, slaughter-houses, and lunch-rooms for school children are common in Socialistic cities, and in many towns that cannot be classed as such.

Growing Solidarity of Socialist Parties.—A very significant move in the direction toward Socialism is the pensioning of the unemployed, a radical Socialist measure gradually making its way throughout Europe and already in full working force in certain cities of Belgium and France. Half of the fund is supplied by the workmen, half by the municipality. In France even the national chamber has voted subventions to the fund.

In the new little republic of Portugal, and in Spain, with its revolutionary and industrial struggles, the Socialist parties have been stirred to increased activity. In Switzerland, Socialism has a national representation of nine with a vote entitling it to about three times that number. The Italian party is at present torn by factions. It is confronted, moreover, by a strong Syndicalist movement. In the extreme East we see the Socialists of Greece, the Balkan states, and Turkey preparing to hold a united congress in Constantinople for the purpose of presenting a solid front against any attempt upon the integrity of Turkey. Even in the Far East, on the continent of Asia, in India, China, and Japan, Socialism is raising its head. The Japanese party, strictly Marxian in its tenets, has had to contend with the opposition of the authorities since its organization in 1901. Recently

the government crowned it with martyrdom by executing some of its leaders.

In conjunction with the labor movement, Socialism has achieved noteworthy successes. The British labor party, largely though not wholly Socialistic, emerged after the general election of 1906. The next year universal suffrage made it a force in Austria. Its strength in the first and second Russian Dumas afforded the Tsar the excuse for curtailing the power of the third. In France and Italy Socialism was a parliamentary force before the beginning of the century. In Belgium, Holland, and the Scandinavian states it is two decades old, and the Finnish Diet of 1911 is nearly one-half Socialistic. In Spain Socialism is growing in the mining districts and the seaboard towns.

Parliamentarism and its Recent Triumphs.—The advance of democracy, of which the progress of Socialism is so striking an indication, is shown also by the only recently created parliaments in Japan, Persia, and Turkey and the increasingly loud demand for self-government in China, India, Egypt, and the Philippines. Power is being steadily transferred from the few to the many, and the right of the majority to rule is now recognized, in theory at least, in most civilized states. The creation of new machinery to discover the will of the people is becoming the most important business of political experts.

For years Switzerland has found that the initiative and the referendum work well as governmental methods. Australia has now adopted these, as have also some of the states of the American Union. In the United States in 1912 the initiative, referendum, and recall are campaign watchwords. Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and some of the Swiss cantons find proportional representation efficient, as do also some portions of Japan and South Africa, although such measures have almost invariably been enacted to prevent the complete extermination of conservative parties. In Belgium and some parts of Switzerland the citizen is fined if he does not go to the polls, and Italy and Argentina are considering the passage of similar legislation.

The Rise and Spread of Feminism.—One of our modern novelists has said that the most impressive and portentous development of our twentieth-century social order is the woman movement. There is nothing in modern life more significant than the restlessness of woman. All over the world women are doing and thinking more effectively than ever before. In these first years of the twentieth century they have invaded industry in vast numbers and with far-reaching results. This is beyond a doubt the most important economic fact of the age. The changed and still changing attitude toward the marriage relation and the appalling increase in divorce have been referred to by one keen writer as the most important social fact since the abolition of African slavery. The same writer refers to the effort of women of every civilized nation to gain the right of suffrage as by far the most significant political fact of the century.

Woman's Struggle for the Ballot.—The concession of the franchise right to women in Australia and New Zealand, Norway and Finland, the Isle of Man, and six of the United States (Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, and California) is a significant trend of the times. When universal suffrage was granted to Finland (through the Diet of 1905) nineteen women became members of the Parliament. In 1911 a woman took her seat in the Storthing at Christiania and, early in 1912, a Bohemian woman was elected to Parliament, the first of her sex to be chosen for that office in Austria. In 1903 Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst founded the Women's Social and Political Union, beginning a new era in British politics. Two years later (1905), the "campaign of militancy" began, and the general movement toward sex equality advanced rapidly. Professional women are now found everywhere. As physicians, lawyers, and preachers they practice in the old world and the new. Nearly every university has opened its doors to female students.

In 1888 the International Council of Women was formed under the presidency of Lady Aberdeen. The first congress of this organization was held in London in 1889. A number of writers of the first order are ad-

vocating the more spiritual and intellectual phases of the woman's emancipation movement. The ideals of this movement are set forth forcibly and convincingly by such writers as the Swedish Ellen Key, the American Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and the South African Englishwoman Olive Schreiner. The number of journals devoted to the woman movement all over the world is increasing, and modern economic literature has been definitely invaded and permanently pervaded by the feminist idea.

Woman Suffrage in England.—The situation in Great Britain reached its most acute stage in 1910. There the question never goes to the voters but is decided by Parliament. Seven times a Woman Suffrage bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons by a large majority, only to be refused a third and final reading by the premier. In 1910 the bill received a majority of 110, larger than was secured even for the budget, the government's chief measure. The vote was wholly nonpartisan. In their processions and Hyde Park gatherings the women have made the largest political demonstrations in British history.

From the beginning the various associations have asked for the franchise on the same terms as granted to men, not all of whom can vote. For political reasons it seemed impossible to obtain this, and meanwhile the so-called "militant" movement was inaugurated by women indignant at the way the measure had been "shelved" for nearly forty years. Parliament was obliged to take some action. A conciliation committee was formed of members from all parties, who prepared a bill that would enfranchise only women householders, those who had possessed the municipal franchise since 1869. This bill was denied a third reading for two years on the ground that it was not democratic enough. Women in England have been eligible for school boards since 1870; have had the county franchise since 1888; have been eligible for parish and district councils and for various boards and commissions since 1894, and hundreds have served in these offices. In 1907 they were made eligible as mayors and county and city

councilors, or aldermen. Three or four have been elected mayors, and women are now sitting on the councils of London, Manchester, and other cities. The municipal franchise was conferred on the women of Scotland in 1882, and of Ireland in 1898.

In the British Dominions.—The Parliament of New Zealand gave school suffrage to women in 1877, municipal in 1886, and parliamentary in 1893. The six states of Australia had municipal suffrage for women from the early days of their self-government. When the states federated in a commonwealth, almost the first act of its national Parliament was to give the suffrage for its members to all women and make them eligible to membership. Women of Australia have now exactly the same franchise rights as men. In Canada for the last twenty years widows and spinsters who are rate-payers or property owners have had the school or municipal suffrage. When the South African Union was formed, its constitution took away from women taxpayers the fragmentary vote they possessed, but at once began working for the complete suffrage right in Cape Colony, Natal, and the Transvaal.

In Scandinavia and Finland.—In 1901 the Parliament of Norway granted municipal suffrage to all women who paid taxes on a certain income, and these were made eligible to serve on councils and juries. The Parliament of 1907 conferred the complete franchise on all who possessed the municipal. They were made eligible for Parliament, and at the first election in 1909 one was elected as alternate deputy. In 1910 the tax-paying qualification for the municipal vote was removed. In 1910, 178 women were elected to city councils, nine to that of Christiania. The next year 210 were elected.

Sweden gave municipal suffrage to tax-paying widows and spinsters in 1862, a more restricted right of participation in communal affairs having been granted to women in that country as far back as the seventeenth century. At that time and for many years afterward not one-tenth of the men had a vote. Then came the rise of the Liberal party and the Social Democracy, and by 1909 the new Franchise Law had been en-

acted, which immensely increased the number of men voters, extended the municipal suffrage to wives, greatly reduced the tax qualification, and made women eligible to all offices for which they could vote. The Woman Suffrage Association is said to be the best organized body of any kind in the country, its branches extending beyond the Arctic Circle. In 1912 the Suffrage Association made a strong campaign for the Liberal and Social Democratic parties, and a large majority of their candidates were elected. The Conservative cabinet was deposed and the king called for a new election of the First Chamber. The result was a triumph for woman suffrage. In Denmark the Parliament in 1908 gave the municipal suffrage to women on the same terms as exercised by men—that is, to all over twenty-five years of age who pay any taxes. At the first election sixty-eight per cent of all the enfranchised women in the country, and seventy per cent in Copenhagen voted. Seven were elected to the city council of forty-two members.

In 1905, by permission of the Tsar, after a wonderful uprising of the people, Finland reorganized its government and combined the four antiquated chambers of its Diet into one body. The next year, on demand of thousands of women, this new Parliament, almost without a dissenting voice, conferred the full suffrage on all women. Since that time from sixteen to twenty-five have been elected to the different Parliaments by all the political parties.

Austria-Hungary.—A very strong movement for woman suffrage is proceeding against great difficulties in the seventeen provinces of Austria, where almost as many languages are spoken and the bitterest racial feuds exist. Women are not allowed to form political associations or hold public meetings, but 4000 have paraded the streets of Vienna demanding the suffrage. In Bohemia since 1864, women have had a vote for members of the Diet and are eligible to sit in it. Women belong to all the political parties except the Conservative, and constitute forty per cent of the Agrarian party. Frau Beatrix Vix-Kuneticka, chosen in 1912, was the first woman to be elected a member of the Austrian Parliament.

Germany.—It was not until 1908 that the law was changed which forbade women to take part in political meetings, and since then the woman suffrage societies, which existed only in the Free Cities, have multiplied rapidly. In a number of the states women landowners have a proxy vote in communal matters, but have seldom availed themselves of it. The Social Democratic party stands solidly for enfranchising women.

Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy.—Belgium in 1910 gave women a vote for members of the board of trade, an important tribunal, and made them eligible to serve on it. Geneva and Zurich, in 1911, made women eligible to their boards of trade, with a vote for its members, and Geneva gave them a vote in all matters connected with the state church. Italy has a well-supported movement for woman suffrage, and a recent discussion in Parliament showed a strong sentiment in favor. In 1910 all women in trade were made voters for boards of trade.

France.—The woman suffrage movement in France differs from that of most other countries in the number of prominent men in politics connected with it. More than one-third of the wage-earners of France are women, and these may vote for tribunes and chambers of commerce and boards of trade. They may be members of the last-named and serve as judges.

Portugal, Spain, and Other Countries.—Portugal has admitted a limited number of women to the parliamentary franchise under the new republican electoral law. A recent legal decision gave Portuguese women the right to the franchise on the same terms as men. Only one woman, Dr. Carolina Angelo (who has since died), was placed on the register, her application having caused the test case which the court decided in her favor. The Senate has now granted (or limited) the vote to women over twenty-five who pass a certain educational test.

In 1888, when Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the leaders of this movement in the United States, where it began, attempted to coöperate with other countries, they found that in only one—Great Britain—had it taken organized shape. By 1902, however, it was possible to form an international committee in Wash-

ington, District of Columbia, with representatives from five countries. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, formed in 1904, held a congress at Stockholm in 1911, with delegates from national associations in twenty-four countries where the movement for the enfranchisement of women has taken definite, organized form.

The United States.—At the November election, 1910, the men of Washington, by a vote of three to one, enfranchised the women of that state. Eleven months later, in October, 1911, a majority of the voters conferred the suffrage on the 400,000 women of California. In 1890 Wyoming came into the Union with suffrage for women in its constitution, after they had been voting in the territory for twenty-one years. In 1893 the voters of Colorado, by a majority of 6347, gave full suffrage to women. In 1895 the men of Utah, where as a territory women had voted seventeen years, by a vote of 28,618 ayes to 2687 nays, gave them this right in its constitution for statehood. In 1896 Idaho, by a majority of 5844, fully enfranchised its women. While women householders in Great Britain and Ireland have the municipal franchise, a much larger number in the United States have a partial suffrage—the municipal in Kansas; a vote on questions of special taxation, bonds, etc., in Louisiana, Iowa, Montana, Michigan, and in the villages and many third-class cities in New York, and school suffrage in more than half of the states. At its convention in Chicago, on August 5, 1912, the National Progressive party, which nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President, declared in its platform for woman suffrage. At this convention for the first time in American history, a woman (Miss Jane Addams) seconded the nomination of a presidential candidate.

WELTPOLITIK AND UNIVERSAL PEACE

The Shift and Play of European Alliances.—The progress of international politics in the world of the first part of the twentieth century, particularly in Europe, has come to be a sort of duel between alliances and groupings for war and aggrandizement, and the breaking down of boundary walls by the ever-increasing agitation for universal peace and the ever-deepening sense of human brotherhood. The shift and play of alliances and diplomatic moves and counter-moves for advantage, which the Germans call Weltpolitik, depending on fleets and armies, is becoming more and more nearly counterbalanced by the influence of those agencies such as Socialism, feminism, and the various phases of the so-called pacific propaganda, which have become a prime characteristic of modern civilization.

The Balance of Power.—The balance of power is a European expression to describe that equilibrium of national units in the old world which prescribes that no nation or group of nations shall add to its power or influence unless all others are at the same time "compensated," the object being to prevent any one nation from growing strong enough to assume hegemony over the rest. The balance must be maintained.

The present grouping of the great powers is largely the result of the Franco-Prussian war, of Bismarck's hatred and fear of France. The Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria, originally consummated in 1879, but not made known to the world until 1888, marks the beginning of the division of Europe into two camps. In 1882 Italy joined Germany and Austria, and the Triple Alliance or Dreibund came into being. Bismarck's ideal of a friendless France was being realized. Britain was not given to alliances. So after the fall of Bismarck in 1890, the republic was forced into the arms of Russia. The next year (1891) the treaty was signed but not made public until 1894. The Triple Alliance had a rival, but the new combination was not

as strong as the old. Meanwhile Anglo-French relations were not of the most cordial nature, and Egypt, the Congo, and the Boer War increased the irritation between the neighbors on both sides of the Channel.

New Developments of the "Balance" Idea.—The first few years of the twentieth century saw a gradual alteration of the balance of European forces, which resulted in a change of support from the Triple to the Dual Alliance. The three main steps in this momentous transformation were, first, the reconciliation of Italy with France; second, of France with England, and third, of England with Russia.

France and Italy became estranged at the occupation of Tunis in 1881. A tariff war began in 1888. Other irritating incidents followed until the relations of France with Italy were worse than with Germany. After the fall of Crispi wiser counsels began to prevail. In 1896 Italy recognized the French position in Tunis. In 1898 a commercial treaty ended the tariff war. In 1901 France announced that she would not oppose Italian claims in Tripoli, while Italy promised France a free hand in Morocco. In 1903 the king of Italy paid an official visit to Paris and the reconciliation was complete when in 1904 President Loubet, despite the thunders of the Vatican, returned the visit.

A second step towards the re-grouping of the powers was taken in May, 1903, when King Edward VII paid his official visit to Paris. France was in no mood to make advances to her old enemy, but the initiative came from the English king himself, who was a sincere admirer of the republic. The position of Great Britain had changed. German disapproval of the Boer War had been expressed in a manner offensive to British sensibilities. Matters were made worse by the obvious determination of Germany to become a great naval power and thus challenge Great Britain in her own element.

The Anglo-French Entente.—King Edward was welcomed in Paris with respect if not with enthusiasm, and the return visit paid by President Loubet paved the way for the bargain that was eventually made. The withdrawal from Fashoda left France nothing to fight

for on the Nile, while Great Britain possessed no special interests in Morocco, in which France had long been concerned. On these foundations a treaty was framed, France surrendering all claims to Egypt and undertaking not to press for the termination of the occupation, Great Britain according France a free hand in Morocco. Minor disputes regarding West Africa, Siam, the New Hebrides, Madagascar, and Newfoundland were also amicably arranged. The treaty, which was signed in April, 1904, was welcomed in both countries. That Great Britain shortly afterwards undertook to render assistance to France if attacked by Germany is widely believed, in spite of official denials.

France's Task in Morocco.—On the eve of the signing of the treaty, Delcassé, French minister of foreign affairs, informed the German ambassador in Paris of its terms, and Prince Radolin pronounced it to be "very natural and perfectly justified." On its publication the imperial Chancellor, Bülow, declared in the Reichstag that there was no reason to suppose it to be directed against any power, and that it contained nothing prejudicial to German interests in Morocco, which were purely commercial.

After such declarations the French government had no hesitation in taking the next step. In October an agreement was signed with Spain, which Delcassé thus associated with his plans of "pacific penetration." The Moorish Sultan, Abdul-Aziz, who had ascended the throne in 1894 at the age of sixteen, was an intelligent man, but he lacked spirit. In his nerveless grasp the kingdom fell into chaos. Agreements with France in 1901 and 1902 provided for coöperation in the maintenance of order. In 1904 he was presented with a bold scheme of reforms, to be carried out by the aid of French loans.

The German Kaiser at Tangier.—In the early weeks of 1905 (March) diplomatic war was declared, when the German emperor landed from his yacht at Tangier, and announced that the Sultan was free and independent, that it would be unwise to hurry reform, and that German interests would be safeguarded. This

unexpected outburst, which virtually promised support to Morocco in resisting French pressure, was followed by an invitation to a conference on the Moroccan question. The proposal was a direct challenge to French claims, and Delcassé advised its rejection. The Rouvier cabinet, however, refused to run risks, and the foreign minister, who had held the reins for seven years, was forced to resign. His fall was accepted as a triumph for Germany, and was soon afterward marked by the elevation of Bülow to the rank of prince.

The Conference of Algeciras.—In September the Treaty of Portsmouth permitted Russia, temporarily paralyzed by her reverse in Asia, to resume her part in European politics. Therefore, when the conference met at Algeciras (January 16 to April 7, 1906), France was in no yielding mood. Throughout the prolonged discussions she was backed by Russia and Great Britain, while Italy was friendly. The United States supported the republic on the merits of the case, and even Austria showed a reasonable disposition. Thus, while the submission of the Moroccan question to the European court at large was a triumph for Germany, the results of the conference were a triumph for France. Though the integrity of Morocco was assured, France and Spain obtained a mandate to organize a police force for the coast towns, and France was allowed a predominant share in the proposed state bank. The Sultan signed the agreement on June 18 and the powers ratified it on December 31. In 1908 a dangerous quarrel, arising out of the arrest of German deserters at Casablanca, was settled by the Hague Tribunal. Finally, by an agreement in 1909 (February 9), Germany recognized the special political interest of France.

The Conference of Algeciras proved that the Entente Cordiale, which had grown out of the treaty of 1904, had proved itself capable of resisting strain. But France's ally, Russia, and her friend, England, still looked askance at each other. The Russo-Japanese War had produced an awkward situation. It had required all Delcassé's tact to avoid an explosion when the Russians of Rojestvensky's Baltic fleet fired on the Hull fisher-

men, while a new danger arose, when Japan angrily charged France with assisting the Russian fleet during its voyage to the Far East. But the support of France during the critical months at Algeciras brought Great Britain and Russia nearer together.

Anglo-Russian Agreement and Germany.—After long negotiations a treaty was signed in August, 1907, defining the respective Russian and British spheres of influence in Persia, recognizing the right of Great Britain to control the foreign policy of Afghanistan, and pledging both parties to abstain from interference in Tibet. The visit of King Edward to Reval in June, 1908, revealed such cordial relations between the two governments that Germany professed to discover a design for her isolation.

The Dual Alliance had expanded into the Triple Entente but a few months when the next shock was given. Though Austria and Russia had agreed in 1897 to work together in the Balkans, the world was startled in February, 1908, by the announcement that the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, Count von Ahrenthal, had obtained permission to make a survey for the construction of a railway through the sanjak of Novibazar. This started into life the ambitions of other Balkan powers, and Servia immediately put forward a demand which was supported by Russia, for a railway to the Adriatic. But before either project could be begun, the revolution in Turkey had altered the whole face of affairs.

Austria-Hungary and Turkey.—The next moment, it seemed, Europe was startled by the news that Bulgaria had thrown off the suzerainty of Turkey, and that Austria-Hungary had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the same time renouncing her right to the military occupation of Novibazar. In a moment the whole of Eastern Europe was in a violent ferment. Servia demanded compensation for the destruction of her hopes of union with Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro pressed for the removal of her restrictions on the Adriatic seaboard. Meanwhile England declared that any modifications of the Treaty of Berlin must be approved

by another European congress, and Russia and France supported her.

Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary paid a cash indemnity. But, when the danger of war with Turkey was removed, the Austrian foreign office could afford to say no to the claims of Servia. The little kingdom trusted to the support of its mighty Slav neighbor, Russia, but its trust was in vain. The tension was ended in March, 1909, by a peremptory intimation from the German Kaiser to the Tsar that if his support of Servian claims were to lead to war with Austria, Germany would support her ally with all her forces. The opposition collapsed at once and the powers of the Triple Entente recognized the annexations without waiting for a conference. But Austria had to pay for her prize. The indemnity to Turkey and the much larger sum spent on preparing the army for instant war, the surrender of Novibazar, the boycott of Austrian goods in the Levant, the estrangement of Turkey, Servia, and Montenegro, above all, the alienation of the powers of the Triple Entente, was the price. The tension remained until the Tsar visited Potsdam at the close of 1910. Germany undertook to aid the plans of Russia in Persia, and Russia withdrew her opposition to the Bagdad Railway, which it was agreed to extend to the Persian frontier. Though it was an exaggeration to assert that the Potsdam interviews marked the virtual withdrawal of Russia from the Triple Entente, they really did record the closing of the breach which had been opened in 1908.

The Rivalry between England and Germany.—There remains what has been called the single international situation, which threatens the peace of civilized mankind —the rivalry between England and Germany. Every other rivalry, dispute, and misunderstanding could be settled quickly and peacefully if this Anglo-German problem did not directly or indirectly prevent or retard such a settlement. British and German policies on four continents are determined or conditioned by the mutual enmity and fear of these two powers. Britain believes Germany is trying to steal the mastery of the sea. Germany insists that England is constantly intriguing to

keep the fatherland from securing her rightful place in the sun. Each builds warships against the program of the other. An agreement, announced in 1911, was made by the two governments to inform each other of their naval construction. But the feverish race in building dreadnoughts goes on.

Germany's Challenge to France at Agadir.—On July 1, 1911, all Europe was startled by a new development in the Moroccan problem which again threatened the world's peace. On that date a German gunboat steamed into the harbor of Agadir on the Atlantic coast of Morocco and landed troops. Thereafter, for nearly six months, the diplomatic negotiations between France and Germany, and afterwards England, became of the most absorbing interest to the entire world. This was explained as being solely a protective measure to insure the safety of German subjects and interests, threatened, so the German government claimed, by disorder in the Sultan's dominions. For some months France had been pushing her influence toward Fez and had sent an expedition against that city. The sending of the warship to Agadir was denounced by France as a violation of the Treaty of Algeciras (1906), to which Germany as well as France had been a signatory.

The German and French governments at once began a long series of diplomatic negotiations, in the language of statecraft, the exchange of "conversations" in the matter. Germany strongly desired Agadir, in spite of the fact that it was in the French "sphere," because of its value as an African port favorable for South American and Far Eastern trade and as a basis for further colonial acquisitions in North Africa.

The "conversations" continued for weeks without any apparent result. Then they suddenly assumed dramatic international importance when (on July 22) Mr. Lloyd-George, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking officially for his government, asserted that the Algeciras agreement had been violated, and contended that British interests were threatened—that, in short, Britain had been treated "as if she were of no account in the cabinet of nations." Premier Asquith (on July 26) confirmed

the utterance of the chancellor, and the opposition leader in the Commons, Mr. Balfour, spoke to the same purpose.

The Moroccan Settlement.—This effective, if quiet intervention on the part of Great Britain, made Germany less brusque with France. It caused, at the same time, a good deal of resentment on the part of the Kaiser's government. It also emphasized the vitality of the Anglo-French entente.

The basis of an agreement was reached by France and Germany during September. France wanted complete freedom in dealing with Morocco. Germany sought protection for her interests in Morocco and desired that the "open door" be guaranteed. These two demands had to be embodied and recognized in a treaty. At more than one moment during the "conversations" actual war was imminent. The working classes in both countries openly and strongly expressed themselves as against war. In Germany this opposition was carried so far that a resolution was introduced in the Reichstag demanding an extension of its rights regarding the making of treaties. By the terms of the agreement, signed on November 4, 1911, it was announced that France ceded to Germany 250,000 square kilometers of northern Kamerun in exchange for French paramountcy in Morocco. The terms of the agreement were strongly disapproved by many Germans and brought about the resignations of the two heads of the colonial office. Charges of "subterranean deal-making" in the negotiations also resulted in the fall of the Caillaux ministry in France. A settlement with Spain over her interests in Morocco is now under way between the French and Spanish foreign offices.

Progress of the World Peace Idea.—The campaign of the advocates of world peace gains headway with every passing year. Yet, though the civilized world has become increasingly conscious of its unity, vast armaments are still regarded as the only guarantee of national security. The acquisition of over-sea dominions has tempted all the powers to supplement their rivalry on land by rivalry at sea. The number of men under arms

in Europe has risen to more than five millions, while the war budget exceeds three hundred millions. Japan and the United States have joined in the race and several of the South American republics have squandered millions on battleships of the largest size.

Effect of the Hague Conferences.—It was as far back as 1898 that the most autocratic monarch in Europe invited the world powers to discuss the desirability of a halt in the race of armaments and the increase of taxation. In impressive language the Rescript of Tsar Nicholas II of Russia lamented the growing burden of all peoples and the diversion of national effort from productive pursuits. When the delegates met at The Hague in 1899 it became clear that there was no chance of realizing the purpose for which the conference had met. The spokesman of Germany declared in emphatic words that his country found her armaments no crushing burden, and that she could entertain no proposal whatsoever for their limitation.

Arbitration and General Peace.—The ideal was thus rudely shattered, and the conference fell back on arbitration. There had been over one hundred cases arbitrated between states during the nineteenth century. But it was obvious that a permanent court would be found highly convenient, and it is the glory of the first Hague Conference to have created it. Of the controversies referred to the Hague Tribunal, by far the most important was that between the United States and Great Britain relating to the Newfoundland fisheries. In addition to the growing willingness of states to refer their disputes to arbitration, the practice of concluding general treaties is becoming common. Many contracts have been signed during the past generation, pledging the signatories to arbitrate all questions except those touching vital interests or national honor. The next step, which was first taken by Chile and Argentina, was to undertake to refer all disputes without exception. The proposal of President Taft, in 1910, to conclude unconditional treaties with Great Britain and France, and the warm welcome extended to it by Sir Edward Grey in March, 1911, did not meet with a favorable response in

the American Senate, for reasons which, however, did not asperse the high quality of the arbitration idea.

A new organization making for peace, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, was founded in 1888, and has since met every year. The Declaration of London will supply the International Prize Court, established at the Second Hague Conference, with a recognized code. The present outlook is that reason and enlightened selfishness will eventually triumph over the suspicions, ignorance, and greed from which wars arise, and that the era of universal peace will at last be ushered in.

THE END

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